MIDDLE-ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES OF SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN

BY

HARALD LINDKVIST.

LIC. PHIL.

PART I.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY PERMISSION OF

THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA

TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED (IN ENGLISH)

IN LECTURE ROOM IV,

MAY 11TH, 1912, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.,

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

UPSALA 1912

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

EDV. BERLING.

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will contain such place-names as are proved by consonantic criteria to be Scandinavian, and such as embody Scand. elements of other kinds. There will also be some brief excursions on traces of religious and social life, as far as preserved in the place-names dealt with, and on the conclusions to be formed as to the different Scand. nationalities of the names; further a tabular summary (with a map) showing their frequency in different counties, together with the additional accounts and statements which may be suggested by the name-material in its complete form, and, lastly, a full Index.

Preface.

The present work, of which the first part (cf. Table of Contents) is now submitted to the public, aims at giving an exposition, chiefly from an etymological point of view, of the Scandinavian place-nomenclature which came into existence in Old and Middle English times in England east and north of Watling Street. A detailed description of the counties which belong to that area, and which I have comprehended under the term Scand. England, will be found in Ch. IV of the Introduction. When applying the attribute 'Scandinavian' to place-names occurring within the area in question, I have included thereunder all names that contain one or more members of Scand. origin. But in addition to these I have also incidentally dealt with names obviously native in origin but subsequently Scandinavianized. For the name-material I have drawn on those official and private records of the periods that proved the most fertile for my purpose, from the earliest Old English charters to 15th century sources. Spellings dating from early New English times have been occasionally adduced, especially when calculated to confirm or illustrate an etymology that would be less recognizable only from the Middle English spellings on record, or, at times, when serving to bridge the gap between the M.E. forms and some unexpected N.E. development. When early M.E. spellings of a name exist in numbers sufficient to establish the etymology, and the name has not undergone any material alterations in subsequent times, I have not always adduced all the forms to be found in late M.E. (15th cent.) records, especially those edited by the Record Commission. Nor have I, as a rule, exhausted the materials of these latter records when an appropriate number of spellings are afforded by other records edited with greater accuracy. Only in a few cases have I had recourse to MSS., as may be seen from the Bibliography. The early spellings are arranged chronologically, and the present-day names are subjoined, as far as it has been possible for me — with the reference works and maps at my disposal —

to identify the early name-forms. I have attempted to fix the dates of these latter as exactly as possible without going into such details as would carry me beyond the scope of my work. For full particulars as to the age of the records the reader is referred to the introductory notes and statements of their editors.

On account of the arrangement of the material under phonological headings, it has been deemed most methodical, with regard to compounds, to explain in foot-notes the remaining member or members, which present no phonetical criterion of the kind dealt with in the particular chapter. Such a manner of disposition has been adopted more especially as it has been conducive to economizing space in the case of the numerous compounds that, apart from their test-members, contain words of minor interest and importance for the point in question. This rule has been adhered to except when the nature of the test-member rendered it desirable that the whole name should be treated in one place. — Within the chapters the names are arranged alphabetically. Only when we are confronted with a large number of names embodying one and the same word, have they — if this was thought to facilitate their surveyability — been arranged all in the same place and preceded by some introductory remarks, with the necessary explanations in each particular case given in foot-notes. Such groups of names are those containing O.W.Scand. *deill* (p. 30 f.), *heimr* (58 f.), *þveit* (96 f.), *skáli* (189 f.), *wrá* (197 f.), *mýrr* (205 f.), and *toft* (208 f.). — Within square brackets are placed a number of names: 1) some that do not appear until N.E. times, 2) very doubtful cases, among which those in Ch. 1 particularly are to be received with caution, 3) a very few names that have been wrongly assigned by previous writers to the category concerned.

In the Introduction I have tried to give a general background to the subsequent detailed exposition of the names, and also, though only in part, to state some leading principles with regard to their character and distribution. Cf. end of the Table of Contents. The historical outlines given in Ch. I—II are only a brief summary of the most indispensable information that we possess of the Scand. settlement in Scand. England, as far as this is recorded in ancient writers.

From the title of the present work it would appear that only names recorded in M.E. literature were dealt with. But that is not

the case; such Scand. names as occur already in O.E. and a few early N.E. ones have also been included, though not many of them belong to the categories that are contained in the first part. Since, however, these names are few and far between, if compared with those found in M.E., I have adapted the title of the book to the main portion of its material.

This material comprises place-names which designate places and localities of many sorts and descriptions. When it is found necessary to refer to a particular category by name, I make use of some special terms in accordance with the following general classification of *Place-names:*

I. *Habitative names:* names denoting human habitations, including divisions of land (hundreds, parishes, &c.).

II. *Cultivation names* or *field-names*: names of cultivated fields and clearings.

III. *Communication names:* names of roads, streets, and bridges.

IV. *Nature names:* names of meadows, woods, valleys, hills and mountains, rivers, brooks and streams, fords, lakes, bays and inlets, islands, promontories, fens and marshes, &c.

For the names that fall under heads II—IV small type has been employed. But it must be admitted that, in a very large number of cases, it has been found extremely difficult, or even impossible, to decide with certainty whether, at the time of our records, the place indicated by some particular name was inhabited or not. When there is any uncertainty on this point the names in question have been given in small type. It is possible that some few inconsistencies in this respect have escaped my attention, for, in treating with such a host of names, this would hardly be avoidable, and for such slips I would tender my apologies.

The present work claims to be the first attempt ever made at classifying phonologically and analysing etymologically the valuable linguistic material deposited in the ancient Scand. place-nomenclature in England. The difficulties in the way of such a first attempt have been very considerable, and may be pleaded for possible shortcomings in the work. Of scholars who have bestowed some attention on minor portions of the subject should be mentioned, in the first place, G. S. Streatfeild, and Isaac Taylor, in whose works the reader will find garnered an anything

but insignificant store of facts and quotatoins, but whose etymologies as a rule do not stand the test of exact scientific examination. The recent investigations of Moorman and of Wyld & Hirst have led to more reliable results — at any rate those of the former. Since the main portion of my work was in the press when their books reached me, I have not often been able to enter into a criticism of their explanations on the numerous points where I am inclined to differ from them.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the obligation I am under to Professor Axel Erdmann, who has been my teacher of English throughout my university studies, and who, with the kindest interest and sympathy, has done everything to facilitate my work, which was begun under his auspices. My thanks are further due to Prof. E. Björkman, under whom it has been completed in its present form, and whose valuable and suggestive advice has always been at my disposal. I also want to express my gratitude to Prof. L. Morsbach, of the University of Göttingen, under whom I studied Middle English preparatory to these researches. For local information of various kinds I am indebted to several members of the English clergy, who have answered my inquiries on such points with the most obliging kindness. From Prof. E. Staaff and Dr. S. Lampa I have received some useful information in connection with problems in French and Scandinavian philology respectively. Last but not least I would record the generous assistance of Mr. S. Charleston, M.A., Lector at the University of Upsala, who has revised my proofs from a stylistic point of view.

Upsala, April 1912.

Harald Lindkvist.

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A. Manuscripts.

For Part I. but a few Middle English MSS. in the British Museum have been consulted; see p. 139 n. 2 and Appendix A., p. 225 f.

B. Printed editions of records, documents, and historical works.

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A. Plac. = Placitorum in domo capit. Westmonast. asservatorum abbreviatio. Temp. regum Rich. I—Edw. II. Record Com. London 1811.

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Br.Mus. = Index to the Charters and Rolls in the Department of Manuscripts British Museum. Edited by H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley. Vol. I: Index locorum. London 1900.

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Durh. Account R. = Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J. T. Fowler. Surtees Soc. 1898-1901.

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Geld-roll = The Northamptonshire geld roll, 1066-75; see Round, J. H., Feudal England pp. 147-56, and cf. Vict. Hist. North. I. p. 296 f.

Giffard's Reg. = The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York 1266-79. Surtees Soc. 1904.

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I.N. = Nonarum Inquisitiones . . . Temp. regis Edwardi III. Record Com. 1807.

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III. Maps.

For the purpose of identifying and locating the place-names I have employed as my chief authority the 1-inch Maps of the Ordnance Survey, of which a large number — though not all — are to be had in the library of Kungl. Generalstaben, Stockholm. In cases where some of these maps were not available I have had recourse to

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List of abbreviations and signs not given in the Bibliography.

a. = ante.
acc. = accusative.
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb.
A.N. = Anglo-Norman.
Bedf. = Bedfordshire.
Berk. = Berkshire.
Buck. = Buckinghamshire.
Cambr. = Cambridgeshire.
ch. = charter(s).
Chs. = Cheshire.
Cumb. = Cumberland.
Dan. = Danish.
dat. = dative.
Derb. = Derbyshire.
dial. = dialect(s).
Durh. = Durham.
e. = early.
e. Angl. = East Anglia(n).
e. Dan. = early Danish.
e. N.E. = early New English.
e. Norw. = early Norwegian.
e. Swed. = early Swedish.
Ess. = Essex.
f. = feminine.
fem. = »
gen. = genitive.
Glo. = Gloucestershire.
Goth. = Gothic.
Hamp. = Hampshire.
Heref. = Herefordshire.
Hertf. = Hertfordshire.
Hunt. = Huntingdonshire.
Icel. = Icelandic.
Inspex. = letter of Inspeximus.
Ke. = Kent.
l. = late.
Lanc. = Lancashire.
Le. = Leicestershire.
Li. = Lincolnshire.
m. = masculine.
masc. = »
M.Du. = Middle Dutch.
mem. = member.
M.E. = Middle English.
MHG. = Middle High German.
Midd. = Middlesex.
MLG. = Middle Low German.
n. = neuter.
N.E. = New English.
Nhb. = Northumberland.
nom. = nominative.
Norf. = Norfolk.
North. = Northamptonshire.
Norw. = Norwegian.
Nott. = Nottinghamshire.
nr. = near.
O.E. = Old English.
O.E.Scand. = Old East Scandinavian.
O.Fr. (O.French) = Old French.
OHG. = Old High German.
O.Irish = Old Irish.
O.Icel. = Old Icelandic.
O.Norman = Old Norman.
O.Sax. = Old Saxon.
O.Swed. = Old Swedish.
O.W.Scand. = Old West Scandinavian.
Oxf. = Oxfordshire.
par. = parish.
pers. name = personal name.
plur. = plural.
prec. = preceding.
Reg. = Register.
sb. = substantive, noun.
Scand. = Scandinavian.
Sc. = Scotland, Scottish.
Scotl. = »
Shetl. = Shetland, Shetlandic.
Shrop. = Shropshire.
sing. = singular.
Som. = Somersetshire.
Staff. = Staffordshire.
Suff. = Suffolk.
Sur. = Surrey.
t. = tempore, in the time of.
Teut. = Teutonic.
wap. = wapentake.
vb. = verb.
Warw. = Warwickshire.
Wilt. = Wiltshire.
Wm. = Westmoreland.
Worc. = Worcestershire.
Yo. = Yorkshire.

Introduction.

Chapter I.

Outlines of the history of the earliest Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw.

The earliest evidence of a Scand. settlement in England we find in the year 876. Nearly a whole century had then elapsed since the time when, according to the Ags. Chron., the Vikings first set foot on English soil. During that period, except for the last ten years of it, the Vikings had generally appeared in small isolated bands, which confined themselves to occasional raids and attacks on places situated within easy reach of the coast and their ships. But in the course of the years c. 865-76 the earlier scattered bands were replaced by great armies, often in co-operation and commanded by prominent leaders whose chief aim was often the conquest of larger or smaller parts of the country. As the first important event of these years is to be noted the expedition to Northumbria (867) which led to the occupation of York. The attempts of the native levies to reconquer the city were frustrated, and for several years York was, with very short intervals, their headquarters and base of operations, soon to become in a sense the centre of the Scand. colonization in England. The next few years witness various ravaging expeditions of the Vikings to Mercia and East Anglia. All eastern England being then practically in the hands of the invaders, they proceeded to reap the fruit of their labours. In 875 Halfdene marched with an army to Yorkshire which he now brought entirely under his dominion. From Yorkshire he pushed his way beyond the river Tees into the old kingdom of Bernicia, which he cruelly devastated; he even extended his campaign as far as to Cumberland and the adjoining districts, which formed the British kingdom of Strathclyde. It has been suggested by Green (Conquest of England I, 119) that the object of his enterprise was mainly plunder. But it seems likely enough

from the events of the next year that he had a greater aim in view, and that his devastations of all the country bordering on Yorkshire were calculated to ensure the undisturbed progress of the colonization he was about to undertake in this county.

For in A.D. 876, the Chronicle says, '*Halfdene Norðanhymbra land gedælde, þæt hie syþþan ergende and heora tilgende wæron*'. An official division of the land is thus carried out, in consequence of which a large proportion of the former enemies and pirates settle down as peaceful agriculturists.[1] From the scanty evidence supplied by our sources it is hard to decide the geographical limits of this earliest settlement. But it seems presumable that it comprised chiefly parts of northern and eastern Yorkshire — the most fertile and approachable regions. That it cannot have extended far beyond the Tees may be gathered from what is told above of Halfdene's ravages there.

The example thus set by the Vikings in the north was soon followed by their tribesmen south of the Humber. Already in the next year (877) an army marched into '*Miercna lond, and hit gedældon sum, and sum Ceolwulfe saldon*'. Mercia was thus divided into two parts, one still governed by the native king, and another populated and ruled by the new settlers. Judging from the distribution of the place-names, the nucleus of the latter part may have been the bulk of Lincolnshire, to which were added, in course of time, the adjacent counties (Nott. Derb. Le. &c).

While these social and political upheavals were in progress in central and northern England, the attacks and ravages of the Vikings were still being visited upon the south, where in the meantime Ælfred had ascended the throne of Wessex. The heroic efforts of Ælfred in the face of the greatest hardships and his ultimate victories put an end to the war in 878; by the Peace of Wedmore, Guþrum, the leader of the invaders, bound himself to receive baptism and to evacuate the kingdom of Wessex. The formal treaty, which dates from one of the next few years, is still extant (see Liebermann, Gesetze der Angelsachsen I, p. 127). It contained certain provisions for the legal position of Englishman and Dane within the two kingdoms, and fixed their bound-

[1] About the method employed in the case of a similar division of land, which was made by the Vikings in Normandy, there is some information in Dudo's Norman chronicle, written c. 1000. See Steenstrup, Normannerne I, 297 &c.

aries. The common boundary line was to run from the mouth of the Thames to the river Lea, along the Lea to Bedford, from where it followed the river Ouse to Watling Street. All the country east of this line, i. e. the Danelaw, was left in the hands of the Scandinavians.

Only two years later there is an entry in the Chronicle to the effect that in 880 '*fôr se here of Cyrenceastre on Eastengle, and gesæt þæt land, and hit gedælde*'. Guþrum then became the first Scand. king of East Anglia (see Henry of Huntingdon, Hist. Anglorum V, 9). The heart of his kingdom was probably formed by Norfolk; further belonged to it Suffolk, Essex, and, though apparently more loosely connected with the rest, portions of the adjacent counties in the west.[1] From this time there existed three separate Scand. dominions in England within the boundaries indicated in the treaty: Northumbria (Yorkshire), East Anglia, and, between them, Scand. Mercia, of whose political government and general state little is known. This was the district of the Five Boroughs (Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham), each of which seems to have had a Jarl and an army of its own; together they may have formed some kind of confederacy (see Florence of Worcester A.D. 919, the poem appearing under the year 942 in Ags. Chron., and Green, Conquest &c. I, p. 137). By far the mightiest stronghold of the Scandinavians was Northumbria, where, as we have seen, the settlement started. and where it must have reached its culmen.

The reconquest of the Danelaw was begun by Ælfred's son Eadweard, who, by the building of fortresses on a systematic plan, first of all strengthened his own frontiers, whereupon he proceeded to annex, one after another, the neighbouring Scand. districts, the possession of which was ensured by new lines of fortifications. In this manner he managed by degrees to subject East Anglia and Scand. Mercia with the Five Boroughs to his sway, and shortly before his death he was 'chosen as father and lord' by the Northumbrian peoples, whether English, Danish, or Norwegian (*ealle þa þe on Norþhymbrum bugeaþ, ægþer ge Englisce ge Denisce, ge Norþmen, ge oþre*' . . . Ags. Chron. 924) and by the Scots and Strathclyde Welsh. His life's work was carried on and completed by his son and successor Æthelstan (925-40). The details of this

[1] Ags. Chron. A.D. 921 speaks about '*folc . . . ægðer ge on Eastenglum ge on Eastseaxum, þe ær under Dena anwalde wæs*'.

reconquest need not be discussed here (see the works of Freeman, Green, and Collingwood, Scand. Britain), but a few brief remarks may be made in illustration of what is said in Ch. IV of the Scand. local nomenclature in the southern parts of the Danelaw.

What first of all strikes us about the reconquest of the Danelaw under Eadweard and Æthelstan is the comparatively weak resistance offered by the southernmost counties of that territory, and the rapidity with which they seem to have been re-anglicized. This applies more particularly to the 'Danish' regions of Middlesex and Buckinghamshire, to Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, and to the southern portion at least of Suffolk. When, in 921, the joint forces of Huntingdon and northern East Anglia made an attack on Bedford, the population of the latter district kept quiet, and the garrison of the fortress drove off the enemy. It is a significant fact that on the conquest of Nottingham (922) Eadweard garrisoned the fortress there with 'Danes' as well as Englishmen. The Scand. element of the population in the counties just mentioned and in those still further north must have been of minor strength and importance and likely before long to be merged in the native majority. This probability is borne out, moreover, by the relative paucity of the evidence of the Scand. influence there that has been left on record in the form of social institutions, place-names, and (at least in some counties) personal names. Much the same conclusion may be drawn from subsequent events. By the princes and Danish kings who in the period 988-1016 repeatedly attacked England, East Anglia and the neighbouring districts were clearly looked upon as vital parts of Wessex, and were in consequence mercilessly ravaged. Thus during the raid of Guthmund, Justin and Olaf Tryggweson in 991 (cf. Freeman I, p. 296) Ipswich was sacked, and large stretches of Suffolk and Essex were harried. In 1004 Swein, King of Denmark, sailed with a fleet up the Yare, seized and plundered Norwich, the chief port on the coast, and then he marched inland and ravaged the whole district, in spite of the gallant resistance of the ruler of E. Anglia, Ulfcytel, whose name attests his Scand. extraction. In fact, a survey of the Scand. attacks on England during the said period shows that — of the Danelaw — E. Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Northamptonshire had suffered more or less (Ags. Chron. A.D. 1011). Hence we

cannot be surprised that, when England was ultimately (1016) divided between Cnut, King of Denmark, and Eadmund of Wessex, all E. Anglia (together with Essex and English Mercia) was assigned to the latter (cf. Oman, p. 581). Throughout the Scand. period it seems to have been more English than Scand. with regard to its population, local institutions, and general state of things.

Quite different was the position of Northumbria during all this time. Though formally under the suzerainty of Wessex, it was up to c. 950 governed at short intervals by Scand. kings who resided in York; some of them seem to have belonged to the Norwegian Viking colony in Dublin. After the expulsion of Eirik, in 954, Northumbria was ruled by its own earls, whose dependence on Wessex can have been little more than nominal. Together with the northern part of Mercia it seems at one time to have formed an almost exclusively Scand. country. The history of the above-mentioned period (988-1016) tells us of hardly any Scand. expeditions against these regions (save for the raid in 993, Ags. Chron.). In 1013, when Swein of Denmark landed with his army at Gainsborough with a view to conquering the whole country, he was immediately acknowledged by Earl Uhtred of Northumbria and by all Lindsey. The conspicuously Scand. character of this northern part of the Danelaw manifests itself in its political isolation from the rest of England, its own administrative, judicial and social institutions and the prevalence of the Scand. element in its population, whose military strength often saved them from being exposed to the attacks from which their countrymen in the south had to suffer. Indeed, the centre of gravity, so to speak, of the Scand. influence in England, in all its phases, is to be looked for here, in the counties on the Humber and thereabouts. We shall soon meet with some further facts bearing upon this, in Ch. IV and V.

Chapter II.

Geographical extent of the Danelaw according to existing documentary evidence. — Outlines of the history of the Scand. settlement in north-western England.

With regard to the extent of the territory which has been called the Danelaw, the information supplied by early records is very limited. Its southern boundary had been determined by

the treaty of Wedmore (see prec. chapter), but the document in question does not tell us anything about how far it stretched to the north. Of some value, therefore, are two passages in the laws of Edward the Confessor, of which one (No. 30 in Ges. der Angelsachsen, ed. Liebermann) defines the district which was under 'Danish' law and in which the *wapentac* — an O.E. term of doubtless Scand. origin — constituted the first administrative and judicial unit of the shire or county. Under 'Danish' law are here stated to be Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire, '*usque ad Watlingestret, et VIII miliaria ultra Watlingastret, sub lege Anglorum*'. The last phrase should evidently be emended to *sub lege Danorum*, as was first proposed by R. Schmid (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 45.) Now the area extending from the counties just named down to Watling Street ('*usque ad W.*') is not otherwise specified, but seems to have included the counties of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire, which are situated, completely or for the most part, on the 'Danish' side of Watling Street, if the latter is followed as far to the north-west as Shrewsbury. We are further informed by the same passage that in the counties particularized the *wapentagium* existed as divisional unit, answering to the *hundredum* of other counties. This statement is not quite accurate, for even Derbyshire was divided into wapentakes, as may be seen from the Domesday returns for this county; that it was not specified here among the others may be due to some inadvertency. Steenstrup (o. c. p. 86) thinks Northamptonshire has been written by mistake for Derbyshire, since, according to Domesday, there were in the former county only two wapentakes, otherwise hundreds.

The second passage in the laws now under consideration (No. 33) says: '*Erat etiam lex Danorum Northfolc & Suthfolc & Grantebriggescire . . .*' The distinction thus made between two sections of the Danelaw is most remarkable. But still more remarkable is the entire omission of the six counties that lie to the east of Watling Street — and thus on 'Danish' territory — in the south, viz. the counties of Essex, Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon, and, at any rate, the adjoining portions of Buckingham and Middlesex. That this omission should have been only accidental cannot very well be assumed. It seems far more likely that, by the time of the Confessor, or even long before, the last-named counties were re-anglicized so far that they were no longer looked upon

as forming part of the Danelaw in the same sense as the rest. And this looks fairly certain when regarded in the light of those historic facts concerning the internal state of these counties during the 10th century that were touched upon in the preceding chapter; compare also the distribution of the Scand. place-names in these parts, for which see in Ch. IV.

A testimony pointing in much the same direction is afforded by a Cotton MS. (see STENSTRUP, ib. p. 36), which gives as belonging to the Danelaw, in the south, Suff., Norf., and Cambr.; in the north, Li., Nott., Derb., Yo., Staff., Chs. and Shrop. Nothing is said of the afore-mentioned six inland counties west and south of East Anglia. On the other hand it should be noticed that they all occur in an account of the ecclesiastical and political divisions of England, dating from the time of Henry II. (1154-89) — inserted among various extracts in the Cambridge MS. of Simeon of Durham's Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ; see further the ed. of Surtees Soc., Append. 220 f. — and in two other post-Conquest documents, for which see STEENSTRUP, o. c. They re-appear in a summary description of the shires and hundreds of England which is contained in a 13th cent. Jesus Coll. MS. (printed in MORRIS, An Old English Miscellany, p. 145 f.). The list given there includes the following fifteen shires as belonging to '*Dene lawe*': York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Northampton, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckingham, Bedford, Middlesex, and Essex. But Staffordshire and Cheshire (and Shropshire) are here ranged under '*Mercene lawe*'.

From the somewhat conflicting evidence thus presented by our sources, the following conclusions may be drawn: Within the Danelaw, as far as its development is recognizable in the century following upon the millennium, we have to distinguish two sections, one in the north and one in the south. The northern one was made up of the counties of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire (including Rutlandshire), Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and, possibly, Northamptonshire. The southern one comprised Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. To the former section seem once to have belonged also Staffordshire and Cheshire, which, however, were borderland; hence their position within the Danelaw and their relations to the remainder of it may have been rather vague, and when the great wave of native reaction reached them from the south, the Scand. influence in them must have declined at a

comparatively early date. This certainly applies, in a much higher degree, to the six inland counties of Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, which once made up the rest of the southern section, and, in consequence of their position, were bound earliest of all to be re-embodied in their original political and social sphere.

Before proceeding to enumerate the different shires of the Danelaw the aforesaid Jesus Coll. MS. says: '*Norþhumbre is wiþ-vtan . And loðen . and westmara-lond . and Cumberlond,*' &c. '*Norþhumbre*' must have signified the greater part, or all, of northern England outside the Danelaw that was not expressly named, viz. the present Northumberland and Durham, perhaps also Lancashire, which would otherwise have been left out altogether. In these counties, more particularly in Westmoreland, Cumberland and Lancashire, there are numerous traces of a Scand. colonization, which, in some parts, must have reached a degree of activity which rivals that of the most Scandinavianized districts of the Danelaw. And their local nomenclature, as far as it originates from the Scandinavians, possesses several features of the greatest interest; in the present work it is treated together with that of the remainder of Scand. England. I now pass on to give some brief historical outlines of the Scand. settlement in these northern counties.

It was observed in Ch. I that the earliest Scand. colonization north of the Humber seems to have been confined chiefly to the present Yorkshire. This district previously formed the main part of the old kingdom of Deira, to which probably belonged also the eastern portion of Westmoreland and perhaps part of Cumberland. North of Deira lay the kingdom of Bernicia, which, at the outset of the Scand. period, was reduced to the present Northumberland.[1] Contemporaneously the remainder of Cumberland and Westmoreland, together with the adjoining regions in the north, formed the kingdom of Strathclyde, the remainder of the old Welsh dominion of the same name. In 875 came Half-

[1] The land between the rivers Tees and Tyne (= the present county of Durham) appears for a long time to have formed a natural boundary belt between Deira and Bernicia. In the 7th century it was still a wild, inhospitable forest-land under no rule whatsoever; cf. the description of this region given in Vita S. Oswaldi, which is printed in Arnold's edition of Simeon of Durham I, 339.

dene's raid on Bernicia and Strathclyde (see above in Ch. I). But, as far as I can judge, this did not lead to any permanent occupation of these regions, as has been assumed by Ferguson (The Northmen &c. pp. 7, 14). Bernicia seems in fact during the next two centuries to have remained English, though united at intervals with Deira under the same earl. The history of the north-western districts is wrapped in obscurity for the following fifty years. We only notice that the reconquest of the Danelaw, which proceeded gradually during the first quarter of the 10th cent., was crowned by the submission of all Northumbria to Eadweard of Wessex (above p. XXV). It is true this state of things did not last very long, and already under Eadweard's successor Æthelstan, who for a short time governed nearly all England, it seems that Strathclyde, and perhaps Bernicia, enjoyed their independence. But of more importance is the fact that, from the beginning of the same century, the history of north-western England was closely connected with that of Ireland, or, more exactly, the Viking colonies in Ireland. These had been founded at different dates, mostly by Norwegians, during the latter half of the 9th cent. (cf. Bugge, Vikingerne I p. 139 f.), and had been rapidly increasing in power and vitality. From there the Vikings undertook frequent expeditions to the coasts of northern England. On the violent attacks which were made on Cheshire and Lancashire during the reconquest of the Danelaw, and for details of which we have to depend chiefly on O.Irish chronicles, see Steenstrup, Normannerne III p. 55, &c. In the course of the early half of the 10th cent. a large number of Scandinavians seem to have settled in these parts (cf. end of this chapter); the beginning may have been made on their defeat and temporary expulsion from Ireland, which took place about 901 according to Steenstrup ib. II, p. 144 f. In 937 the Ags. Chron. records the forming of the dangerous confederacy against Æthelstan of Constantine, King of Scots, Eugenius, King of Strathclyde (Cumbria), and the Scandinavians of Northumbria and Ireland. On the final overthrow of the allies in the famous battle of Brunnanburh, whose site is disputed, reference may be made to Hodkin, p. 333 f.

The year 945 of the Ags. Chron. marks a turning-point in the history of north-western England. In that year, says the Chronicle, King Eadmund ravaged '*call Cumbraland*', and gave it all up to Malcolm, King of Scots, on the condition that he

should be 'his co-operator both on sea and on land'.[1] *Cumbraland* seems then to have comprised most of the territory occupied by the old kingdom of Strathclyde, at least south of the Solway; from this date it remained for 150 years in possession of the royal family of Scotland. In the year 1000 we have to note an enterprise of great importance, which has been differently accounted for by the historians who deal with the subject (cf. FREEMAN I p. 328 f.). From among our sources we may quote Henry of Huntingdon, whose statement in all its briefness is the most explicit, and there is no reason to disbelieve it: '*Exinde rex Edelred ivit in Cumberland cum exercitu gravissimo, ubi maxima mansio Dacorum erat; vicitque Dacos bello maximo, totamque fere Cumberland prædando vastavit*'. This expedition, undertaken at a moment when there was a temporary flag in the attacks of the Vikings on southern England, was doubtless intended to be a death-blow against the Scandinavians of the district. We may then establish the existence of a Scand. settlement in these regions, which by 1000 seems to have reached considerable proportions. The new settlers possibly formed the preponderant element of the population; at all events their growing influence meant an imminent danger to the realm of Wessex which had to be averted in time. Even the Isle of Man, then a stronghold of the Vikings, was harried by Æthelred's fleet. There is no means of knowing how far Æthelred succeeded in checking the progress of the Scandinavian settlement; however, the change possibly brought about in the state of things must have been merely temporary and cannot have materially affected the subsequent development of the district.

The end of the first millennium thus constitutes a terminus ad quem for the earliest stages of the Scand. colonization in northwestern England. Again the terminus a quo is not easily found. R. FERGUSON (The Northmen &c. p. 11 f.) has advanced the opinion that between 945 and 1000 large numbers of Norwegians emigrated from Ireland, and, using the Isle of Man as a stepping-stone, spread themselves over the opposite parts of England. This view seems

[1] There is an unconfirmed popular tradition according to which the Cumbrians fought a decisive battle, in which their King, Dunmail, was killed. A cairn was erected in his memory near the alleged battlefield on the border between Cumberland and Westmoreland, which still preserves the name of Dunmail Raise. Cf. FERGUSON, R. S. A history of Cumberland p. 134.

to have been universally accepted. It is needless to point out that the meagre items of information afforded on this head by our early authorities do not allow of any conclusive inferences even though combined with what may be gathered from the abundant Scand. place-nomenclature that is found in these regions. But from the facts that we do know with some certainty it is obvious that this Scand. colonization was essentially different from the one that had taken place in Deira and East Anglia. The latter was preceded by a military occupation of large districts, which were divided in a systematic manner among his followers by the leader in chief; that same leader became the ruler of the land thus acquired and, at least in Deira, founded a dynasty. In the case of north-western England the matter is totally different. The colonization which was an accomplished fact by A.D. 1000 must have been a gradual process that probably covered the greater part of the 10th cent. and was continued in the next. The colonists, apparently in the main Norwegians, may have been recruited partly from home, partly from the Vikings who had settled down more or less permanently in Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Atlantic groups of islands. There is no evidence whatever of any organized military conquest, but the immigrants may have arrived in small parties and been suffered to dwell amidst the native Welsh and Anglian population, which probably counted on their assistance in repelling further attacks of the Vikings. The first stage of the settlement on the north-western coast seems to have fallen very early in the said century (cf. p. XXXI), and possibly comprised parts of Cheshire and, more particularly, Lancashire (Amounderness).[1] Again, as was observed

[1] In the Chronicle of the Archbishops of York, a 12th century work (printed in York Hist.) we are told that King Æthelstan granted to the Cathedral Church of York the whole of Amounderness which he had bought from the heathens: '*totam Agmundernes, quam a paganis emerat*'. The same statement appears in the 14th cent. metrical Chronicle of the Church of York (see ib.). Moreover, the royal letter which confirmed this grant is extant (printed in York Hist. III, also by KEMBLE, and GRAY BIRCH); it dates from A.D. 930. KEMBLE stars the charter as spurious. But I do not know of any reason to doubt the veracity of the statement in itself. The 'heathens' from whom the land was acquired must have been Scandinavians; this assumption is quite concordant with the known history of these parts. A still earlier royal grant to Scandinavians of land near Chester is quoted from Irish annals by COLLINGWOOD, Scand. Britain p. 191 f.

above, it does not seem probable that the previous raid of Halfdene on Strathclyde, in 875, was followed by any settlement. When Eadweard seized and fortified Thelwall and Manchester in 923 (see Ags. Chron.), these places were evidently intended as bulwarks against the threatening danger in the north-west. Also the military expedition of Eadmund to Cumberland in 945 (cf. p. XXXI), and that to Westmoreland in 966, at the head of which latter King Eadgar had placed '*Þored Gunneres sunu*' (Ags. Chron.), a Scandinavian, were without doubt occasioned by the growing Scand. influence in the same parts. So was the delivering up of *Cumbraland* to the King of Scots — a diplomatic move calculated to shift to other shoulders the troublesome task of resisting the progress of the Scandinavians, settlers and pirates. How little this aim was reached is proved by the subsequent course of events.

Chapter III.

Principal Old and Middle English sources of the Scand. place-names in England.

The immediate linguistic consequence of the Scandinavian settlement in England was the production of a copious Scand. place-nomenclature in the districts concerned.

It was pointed out above that the earliest stages of this settlement belong to the end of the 9th cent. in eastern and north-eastern England, and to the beginning of the 10th, as it seems, in the north-west. Under such circumstances we cannot expect to meet with any place-names of this description in literature until the 1st half of the 10th cent., at the earliest. Such is indeed the case: I have not found a single reliable instance on record before that time. The sources we have to draw upon for the O.E. period are confined to the public and private instruments which are known under the general name of charters. As to the printed collections of O.E. charters utilized in the present work see Bibliography. The material offered by them is, however, often of relatively small value, seeing that these records are not seldom either copies of later date going back to originals of untraceable age, or even mere forgeries. Add to this that the most comprehensive printed editions of them that have hitherto been published

are very imperfect, sometimes inaccurate, and for the most part without any attempt at a critical commentary, and it will be realized that as a rule these sources yield but little in the way of exact information. Of some interest are several charters dating from the 11th century, which appear to be genuine. They contain not a few place-names with Scand. elements, most of which belong to East Anglia (esp. Norfolk) and Lincolnshire with the contiguous counties. See KEMBLE C.D. IV-VI, and THORPE, Dipl. With regard to the remainder of the O.E. literature, much of which dates from pre-Scandinavian times, it is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of no help in the present investigation.

Thus if O.E. literature contributes very little in the way of materials to our subject, things are, however, entirely different as soon as we turn to the M.E. period, which displays an almost unlimited supply of the evidence desired. To the transitional period between O.E. and M.E. belong the Northamptonshire Geld Roll of A.D. 1066-75, which has been published by J. H. ROUND in 'Feudal England', and further the original of the Domesday Book, the great survey of the Conqueror. It was compiled, chiefly for fiscal purposes, by royal commissioners, and was apparently finished in 1086. But it should be noticed that none of the original returns of the commission have been preserved.[1] In them the material seems to have been dealt with topographically, hundred by hundred, while in the compilation embodied in the two volumes which form the so-called Exchequer Domesday, it has been re-arranged and digested, county by county, under the tenants-in-chief. This system of arrangement often renders it a very difficult task to identify the place-names[2], more particularly when the same name is borne by two or more different places in one and the same county, or when place-names are entered under counties other than those to which they really belong. Domesday contains a vast number of place-names, of which not

[1] The three records known as Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, Inquisitio Eliensis, and the Exon Domesday are considered to be later copies or digests of the returns of the commissioners.

[2] Sometimes two or more tenants-in-chief could hold possessions within one and the same locality, the name of which was accordingly given in the survey under all the persons in question; it was then not seldom differently spelt. This has occasionally made students of Domesday (as e. g. A. BUGGE in Vikingerne) mistake the two or more instances of the place-name for designations of as many different places.

a small percentage are of Scandinavian origin. The larger portion of Scand. England is included in the survey, but some of the districts belonging to it are not at all, or only partially, dealt with. Northumberland and Durham were left unsurveyed, seeing that, as part of them had been laid waste by the Conqueror and probably the rest by the Scots, they were of no value in the eyes of the commissioners.[1] Nor do we find there the bulk of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which counties were held by the King of Scots till in 1092, when they were incorporated into England by William Rufus (cf. above p. XXXI). Only the small southern (Deiran) portions of them were taken with Lancashire north of the Ribble and subjoined to the West Riding of Yorkshire. Lancashire south of this river was included in Cheshire under the title of (the land) 'between the Ribble and the Mersey'. The present Rutlandshire was partly surveyed under Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire.

On the character and value, from a philological point of view, of the varied place-nomenclature which is accumulated in Domesday, some short comments may be made. It should be borne in mind, first of all, that we have here before us a body of mainly English or Scandinavian names entered in an almost exclusively Latin record, which was composed and written by French or Norman scribes. For the compilation of the survey the names were obtained, together with the other information required, from local juries and put down by the commissioners or their scribes in a form adapted to the resources of their French orthography. How far the various spellings were altered in the subsequent process of re-arrangement and repeated copying, cannot be told, but the alterations undergone must have been considerable.[2] For

[1] Simeon of Durham says there was '*inter Eboracum et Dunelmum nusquam villa inhabitata*' (Historia Regum § 154).

[2] The age of the Domesday (Exchequer) MSS. has lately been inquired into by Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence &c.), who, on the evidence of various palæographical and phonological criteria, assigns their date to the 12th cent. They certainly do not seem to have been written early in that century; cf. what is said below, p. XXXVII. For other details of the plan and contents of this record, see J. H. Round, Feudal England (London 1895), and F. W. Maitland, Domesday Book and beyond (Cambr. 1897). Very instructive are, moreover, the introductory analyses prefixed to the Domesday extracts for the resp. counties in the Victoria History.

otherwise it cannot be explained why the place-name spellings of DoB. so frequently disagree with those which may be adduced from records of about the same date or one not much later. In fact, the spellings in several other 12th cent. records frequently exhibit forms of a much older character, which, besides, are obviously rendered with more accuracy. Hence it will be clearly seen that when, in the case of a place-name, there is a marked discrepancy between the forms of DoB. and those of other early M.E. records, the original etymology cannot be established on the mere evidence of DoB. unless the spelling in the latter leaves no room for any doubt, which, under the circumstances, does not occur very often. It is certainly true that in a few cases DoB. has preserved the original form of a name which was re-modelled, entirely or in part, during the interval between DoB. and the next record in which the name again appears; see, e. g. Altcar p. 2, Rogerthorpe and Scorbrough p. 15. But, on the whole, the place-nomenclature of DoB. can be utilized for etymological purposes only if seen and judged in the light of the spellings of other similar, chiefly M.E., sources.[1]

From the 12th cent., or more exactly the reign of Henry I. (1100—35), date three surveys of as many, partly conterminous, counties, namely the Lincolnshire survey c. 1101-19, the Leicestershire one c. 1124-29, and the Northamptonshire one, all drawn up by hundreds or wapentakes, as seems to have been the case with the earliest returns from which the Exchequer Domesday was compiled. These records are of great value in many respects; their place-name forms are represented with far greater minuteness than those of the DoB. copies, and often convey the impression of being older. Other 12th cent. records indispensable to our purpose are the Pipe Rolls (from 1130 onwards) which contain the yearly accounts of the sheriffs; they are of particular

[1] The place-names of DoB. have been investigated by STOLZE (see Bibliography), whose identifications and derivations of the names are, however, often incorrect, the latter ones being based exclusively on the material of DoB. and the O.E. records. — I cannot enter here into any details regarding the principles of orthography traceable in the DoB. Several of the most interesting problems have been solved, with great ingenuity, by ZACHRISSON, o. c. In the following exposition of the place-names I have occasionally dwelt upon some orthographical phenomena, of which an elucidation was desirable in support of my own etymological explanations.

interest as offering much local information and local spellings of the place-names. The same holds good of the monastic chartularies, registers and coucher books, the earliest portions of which fall within the century under notice; in several cases their stocks of charters and other documents cover nearly the whole of the Middle Ages. As inestimable store-houses, to which the present work owes a great deal of its most interesting material, should be especially pointed out the chartularies of some northern monasteries, viz. those of Whitby, Rievaulx, Guisbrough, and Selby in Yorkshire, Cockersand and Furness in Lancashire, and Wetherhal in Cumberland.[1] Valuable, from the same point of view, are also many of the charters printed in Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum,[1] and those reproduced in the letters of Inspeximus of the next few centuries (printed in Ch.R., and Pat.R.). The beginning of the 13th cent. brings with it an infinite number of official records of various descriptions; very instructive are the episcopal registers of York and Lincoln, the Pipe Rolls, Charter Rolls, Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Hundred Rolls, Inquests post mortem, Kirkby's Inquest (1284-85), and Taxatio ecclesiastica (1291). The Patent and other rolls continue during the next few centuries; the most important record of the 14th is the Nomina villarum, which gives complete accounts of the cities, boroughs and townships which, in 1316, were found in each hundred or wapentake, and their lords. From the 15th cent. may be mentioned especially several collections of wills, the Subsidy Rolls (printed in F.A.), Patent Rolls, Inquests post mortem, &c. Over nearly all the literary period down to N.E. times extend the rolls and charters in the British Museum of which an Index locorum, one of the most fertile sources of the present work, has been published. — For further details I must content myself with referring the reader to the Bibliography, and the Introductions to the respective editions.

[1] It should be observed that it is all but impossible to fix the date of many a charter inserted in these collections. The dates I have tried to suggest, in the etymological part of my work, for spellings quoted from such sources, are, therefore, in many cases only approximate, or uncertain.

Chapter IV.

A short survey of the distribution of the Scand. place-names in the various counties of Scand. England.

In Ch. I—II the extent of the Scandinavian settlement in England east and north of Watling Street was outlined, as far as this is possible from the imperfect historical materials at our command. Attention was called to the fact that, broadly speaking, this settlement was started successively, although at short intervals, in four separate quarters: in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, East Anglia, and the North-West. It is needless to emphasize that due allowance has to be made for the possibility that, in each case, also the neighbouring counties were involved in this process of colonization at its earliest stages. The following paragraphs will contain an exposition of the distribution and relative frequency of the Scand. place-nomenclature enclosed within the boundaries of all the territory in question. In order to render the material better surveyable, from such a point of view, it has proved advisable to examine it under the heads of four divisions: The East Anglian, the Midland, the North-Western, and the North-Eastern. The arrangement suggests itself from the situation and special historical development of each of these divisons, as well as from the general character and distribution of the place-names contained in each of them.

1) The East Anglian division. It embraces the southern portion of the Danelaw, under which we may include the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and parts of Buckinghamshire and Middlesex. The nucleus is Norfolk, where, judging from the local nomenclature, the settlement in this division culminated and where the Scand. element maintained itself longest. Such a state of things was no doubt conditioned, to some extent, by the situation of the county, hemmed in as it was by natural boundaries on almost all sides, being skirted on the north by the sea and the marshlands of Freebridge and Holland Elloe, on the west by the Cambridgeshire Fens, and on the east by the sea. There are some particular hundreds conspicuous by their large proportion of Scand. names: first of all East and West Flegg, between the river eBur

and the sea. The Nomina Villarum (A.D. 1316) gives here 13 names terminating in *-by*, all of unquestionably Scand. origin and representing more than one half of the total number of place-names in these hundreds (according to the said record). It should be mentioned, in passing, that the remarkably great percentage of small freeholders recorded in the Domesday entries for the same hundreds may be another proof of the strong Scand. influence there. South of the Flegg hundreds, and separated from them by the marshes of Walsham, we find the hundreds of Blofield, Loddon, and Clavering, which also exhibit not a few Scand. place-names; a third region of the same kind is formed by the hundreds of North and South Erpingham, (Eynesford) and Gallow, which stretch like a belt from east to west. Very many Scand. names, which occur in the M.E. records relating to the county, have in course of time disappeared and cannot be located with certainty. This applies especially to the Scand. field-names found in the early M.E. feet of fines; a fairly large number are included in the valuable list of Norfolk field-names given by Rye in his Introduction to Ped. fin. Norf.[1]

The remaining hundreds contain as a rule only a few scattered Scand. place-names each. Passing on to Suffolk we come across some in the adjacent northern and eastern hundreds, more particularly in Hartismere and the parts to the east of it, but not 'chiefly near the coast', as is asserted by Taylor (Words and Places p. 110). As for the rest of the county very few traces were left on its place-nomenclature by the new settlers. This is the more noteworthy as there seems once to have been a not inconsiderable Scand. admixture in the population, if we may infer as much from the many Scand. pers. names which were in use here in early M.E. times (see DoB., and Suff. fines). The same may be said of Essex, but the Scand. element of the local nomenclature is still scantier there than in Suffolk, and must, in fact, be considered exceedingly small, in spite of what is stated to the contrary by Taylor (l.c.). T. attributes Scand. origin to the names terminating in *-ford*, *-ness*, *-well*, and *-wich*, which, however, as far as I can see from early spellings, only excep-

[1] To the strength of the Scand. element testify, moreover, the numerous Scand. pers. names that are known to have existed here in early M.E. times on the evidence of especially DoB. and the Norfolk feet of fines.

tionally seem to embody elements of possibly Scand. origin. If thus the intensity of this process of settlement seems to have been steadily diminishing along a radius running from Norfolk southwards, this is still more the case along the corresponding southwestern radius, round which are grouped the counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Middlesex, and Buckinghamshire. A very few more or less reliable Scand. place-names in the first-named three counties, and perhaps one or two in each of the last-named three, are all that can be gleaned from our records, as far as my investigations go. Compare the works by Skeat on the place-names of Cambr., Hunt., Hertf., and Bedf. On the other hand, Scand. pers. names did occur here as may be learned from DoB. The conclusions to be drawn from such facts, as far as these counties are concerned, point in the same direction as those founded on our historical materials, which were set forth above pp. XXVI—XXX. While all the counties belonging to this division received within their precincts a larger or smaller number of Scand. settlers, colonization of any importance and permanence seems only to have taken place in Norfolk and the neighbouring portion of Suffolk; in the other counties the settlers must have been manifoldly outnumbered from the outset by the native population, and after the speedy reconquest of these parts of the Danelaw liable soon to be amalgamated with the native majority.

2) The Midland division (the land of the Five Boroughs) comprises the counties of Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire — this being their relative order according to the frequency of the Scand. place-names in each of them. The scene of the earliest Scand. settlement in this division may, with some amount of probability, be assigned to Lincolnshire (cf. in Ch. I); here and in the conterminous Leicestershire the settlement seems to have been thickest and spread from them over the neighbouring counties, decreasing in strength in the same measure as it drew near Watling Street. About the millennium, and for a long period onwards, Lincolnshire must have been practically a Scand. country. The Scand. proportion of its M.E. local nomenclature is remarkably large; in several wapentakes it represents 50 % — in some even more than 75 % — of the total number of names on record. Instances are to be found in abundance in every wapentake, though only a few in the southmost one, Holland Elloe, the extensive

fens of which made it less accessible and probably less attractive to the immigrants. But the statement of TAYLOR (Words and Places p. 111) that a line drawn from east to west, about eleven miles to the north of Boston, marks the southern limit of the 'purely Danish, as distinguished from the Anglian settlement', is inaccurate. First of all we cannot speak about a purely Scand. settlement in any wapentake, although in some the Scand. place-names are predominant in number. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that south of the line indicated by TAYLOR there is rather a large area occupied by the waps. of Beltisloe, Aswardhurn, and Aveland, which, judging by its place-names, was once one of the most Scand. parts of the county. — Four pre-eminently Scand. districts, where the Scand. names comprise 50 % or more of the total nomenclature, may be distinguished in the county: *α*) one in the north, stretching along the river Humber and its affluent the Trent, and including the wapentakes of Bradley, Yarborough, Manley, and Corringham — all of them easily accessible from the sea. Here we find Scand. place-names in great numbers and of all descriptions, amongst them a good many field-names (esp. in Manley and Yarborough; our best source with regard to these names is the Coucher Book of Selby, cf. in Ch. V), which indicate the deep roots the colonization had struck in these parts. *β*) One central, constituted by the waps. of Walshcroft and Lawress, immediately to the north of the city of Lincoln. The latter was one of the Five Boroughs, being favourably situated in a lofty position on the river Witham and the Roman Ermine Street, which runs through it northwards to the Humber. *γ*) One eastern, chiefly along the North Sea, and consisting of the waps. of Calceworth, Candleshoe, Hill, Bolingbroke, Horncastle, Gartree, and Louth-Eske. The Scand. place-names are focused in the first three, amounting to about 75—80 % of the total nomenclature. The figures are based mainly on the material supplied by the Nomina Villarum A.D. 1316. *δ*) One southern, comprising the above-mentioned waps. of Beltisloe, Aswardhurn, Aveland, and part of Kirton, more exactly Swineshead and the surrounding region. On the basis of the present place-nomenclature STREATFEILD (p. 12 f.) maintains that, in the Fen District, except between Boston and Butterwick, the Scand. place-names are 'comparatively rare'. This does certainly not hold good of the state of things there in M.E. times; at any rate we must except the wap. of Kirton, where in

and round the parishes of Swineshead and Wigtoft there were in the early 14th cent. many Scand. names, esp. field-names terminating in *-toft* and *-deil* (cf. the royal confirmation of charters relating to Swineshead abbey in Ch. R. III). Only in Holland Elloe they were few and far between.

Characteristic features of the Scand. place-nomenclature in mediæval Lincolnshire are the many names terminating in *-by*, of which no less than c. 220 are recorded in the Nomina Villarum, and those in *-þorp*; further many field-names in *-deil*, *-toft*, (see pp. 30, 208), and not a few in *-þveit* (see p. 96). Several of the names of the wapentakes contain O.Scand. elements; of these may be quoted from the said No.-Vill. (1316): *Calsewath*, *Wraghou*, *Gayrtree*, *Hawardeshou*, *Skirbeck*, *Aselachou*, *Avelund*, *Aswardhirn*, *Botheby*, *Kirketon*.

With regard to its local nomenclature the contiguous county of Leicestershire presents much the same general aspect as Lincolnshire. In the northern half, occupied by the two waps. of Framland and Goscote, which border upon Li., Nott., and Derb., the Scand. place-names are densest, representing about 50 % of the total nomenclature; in the southern waps. of Gartree and Guthlaxton, along the boundaries of Warw. and North., they only amount to about 25 %. (For this calculation the material offered by the Subsidy Roll of A.D. 1327 has been utilized, since No. vill. for Le. is incomplete.) Nearly one half of them are names terminating in *-by*, of which a large number may be seen on the map clustering in and near the basin of the river Wreak. It would seem that the new settlers spread from Le. to the adjacent Northamptonshire, which was accordingly colonized from the north, if we are justified in drawing that conclusion from the distribution of its Scand. place-names. For the bulk of them are in the northern half of the county — in other words in the hundreds of Corby, Rothwell (both the names are Scand. in form), Guilsborough, Fawsley and Nobottle Grove, most of which abut on Le., while in the southern hundreds, along the outskirts of the East Anglian division, they are very scarce. The extent of the Scand. settlement in North., as far as it is traceable from the place-names, has been greatly exaggerated by previous students of the subject, esp. Taylor, whose assertion (Words and Places p. 112) that in North. (as well as Le. Rutl. and Yo.) the 'Danish names preponderate over those of the Anglo-Saxon type'

is untenable. With regard to the frequency of the Scand. place-nomenclature North. stands in much the same relation to Le. as Suffolk does to Norfolk (cf. above). Turning to the small county of Rutlandshire we find among its place-names not a few due to the Scandinavians; of some interest are half a score of names terminating in *-þorp*. Of more importance, from the same point of view, is Nottinghamshire, which extends along the western boundary of Lincolnshire; and it is in the waps. of Bassetlaw, Thurgarton, and Newark, which abut on the latter county, that we find the majority of the Scand. names. Still not a few outlying instances occur in the south-western part, among them some *þveit*-names. The adjoining county of Derbyshire contains considerably fewer names of Scand. extraction than Nott.; they belong, as a rule, to the eastern wapentakes, viz. Scarsdale, conterminous with Nott. and south Yo., and Repton and Morleston, which stretch along the boundaries of Le. and Nott. Seeing that the western portion of Derb. shows such insignificant traces of a Scand. settlement, it is not surprising that Staffordshire, west of it, presents hardly any at all, perhaps with the exception of the NE. corner, the hundred of Totmanslow, which contains some place-names possibly due to Scandinavian influence. In this county we find ourselves in a region where Scand. immigrants probably settled, though apparently in very small numbers. The Staffordshire land-holders in the time of the Confessor who, according to DoB., bore Scand. names, are exceedingly few when compared with those living in Derb. and Nott.

3) The North-Eastern division embraces Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland. It need hardly be said that the first-named county constitutes the nucleus, whereas the two others are of minor importance from our point of view, and may be passed over more rapidly. As was shown in Ch. I, Yorkshire was the scene of the earliest permanent Scand. settlement in England, as far as we can trust the evidence of our sources. Together with Lincolnshire it formed the heart of Scand. England; like this county it must have remained for centuries an essentially Scand. country, where the Scandinavians, being in most parts probably even in numerical superiority, formed the predominant element of the population.[1] The original stock of Scand. settlers here in the late

[1] We are told as much by the Icelandic historian Snorri Sturluson († 1241), who says in one of his sagas: *Norðimbraland var mest*

9th cent. must have been considerably reinforced through additional immigration of their countrymen during the next two centuries. It seems fairly certain that also other parts of Scand. England then received larger or smaller numbers of such later immigrants, but the main stream must have gone to Yorkshire. Many of these may have come direct from Scandinavia, others from the Norwegian colonies in the West, or, more especially, from Ireland, with whose Viking colonies Yorkshire appears to have had a lively intercourse, at all events during the 10th century. That the NW. portion of the county was partly populated and settled from the west, from Lancashire and Westmoreland, is likely enough, even to judge from the distribution of the place-names over the region in question.

The great gateway of the Scandinavians to northern England was the Humber. From the Humber they would be able to proceed by water in two main directions: southwards down the Trent through Lincolnshire, and northwards up the Ouse to York. Or they might prefer going by land, southwards from Barton or Ferriby along the Roman Ermine Street to Lincoln, Huntingdon and further on; northwards by the likewise Roman (?) road that led from the opposite shore to York and as far as to Hadrian's Wall. This accessibility, together with its situation in one of the widest and most fertile plains in England, must from the very beginning have rendered York, and then the surrounding district, particularly desirable in the eyes of the Scandinavians. Throughout the Scand. period we find the city of York — the *Eoforwīc* of the Ags. Chron., the *Jórvík* of the O.Icel. sagas — as the most important administrative, ecclesiastical, and commercial centre in the north. As the seat of the Scand. kings and earls of Northumbria it must have sheltered within its walls a large proportion of people of Scand. descent. This is well illustrated by the numerous Scand. personal names that occur in early M.E. records connected with the city; see

byggt Norðmǫnnum, síðan er Loðbrókar-synir unnu landit, ... Mǫrg heiti landzins eru þar gefin á nórœna tungu, Grímsbœr ok Hauksfljót ok mǫrg ǫnnur: 'the country of the Northumbrians was mostly inhabited by Northmen since Loðbrok's sons acquired the country ... Many place-names are given there in the Scandinavian tongue: Grimsby (in Li.), and Hauksfljot (not identifiable; as I suppose, a subsequently lost town on the Humber), and many others'. See Heimskringla I p. 170, ed. F. Jónsson, København 1893-1901.

e. g. the early 11th cent. list of Ælfric's bondsmen, where about two thirds of the names recorded are Scand. in form, most of the bearers being apparently residents of York or its vicinity. Further testimony to the same effect is borne by the many street-names of the same origin to be found in mediæval York, for which see in Ch. V. Even long after northern England had been brought under the sceptre of the Norman kings there seems to have been a brisk trade between York and Scandinavia.[1] Such being the state and position of the capital, we cannot wonder that the local nomenclature of the surrounding county should be greatly influenced by the Scandinavians and, accordingly, reflect a Scand. settlement the proportions of which are not equalled anywhere else in England.[2] This is true, above all, with regard to the North Riding, of whose M.E. place-nomenclature much has been preserved, even in detail, in the valuable, or rather invaluable, monastic chartularies of Whitby, Guisbrough, and Rievaulx. Scandinavian names abound all over this Riding, being in a great majority especially in the waps. of Langbaurgh with Whitby Strand (on this see Ch. V, at the end), Birdforth and Hang. But even the East Riding teems with such names, which in the wap. of Buckrose amount to more than 50 % of the total number; in the waps. of Dickering, Harthill, and Howden, too, their percentage is very great, as may be seen from the Nomina Villarum (1316) and the returns of the Poll-tax 1378.[3] Of less importance, in this respect, is the West Riding, more particularly the southmost portion, whereas in the wap. of Ewcross, along

[1] About the year 1000 York was, according to Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi Ebor. (see York Hist. I p. 454), '*metropolis totius gentis Northanimbrorum*', and '*mercatorum gazis locupletata, qui undique adveniunt, maxime ex Danorum gente.*'

[2] This Scand. local nomenclature is parallelled in Yo. by a personal one of the same nationality which is more numerous and varied than that of any other county. Only in Yo. have I met with instances of the well-known very usual O.Scand. type consisting of a prænomen + a patronymic compound ending in *-son, -sun*, as, e. g. *Arngrimr Gudmundarsvn* in La. I have noted the following partly anglicized instances: *Arne Grimsune* 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Gamel Grimessuna, Ulf Fornessuna, Uctred Ulfessuna* 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R. Compare also *Þoreð Gunneres sunu* (p. XXXIV) and *Þurforð Rolfes sune* (p. 171).

[3] The calculations of TAYLOR (Words and places, p. 122) as to the frequency of the Scand. place-names in the various counties do not nearly square with the results obtained from an examination of the M.E. material. T. has used only the modern map.

the pre-eminently Scand. hundred of Lonsdale in Lanc., and the adjoining Staincliffe, besides in Osgoldcross, along the southern side of the river Air, the Scand. place-nomenclature is anything but inconsiderable.

A few remarks may be added about the general features of the Scand. place-nomenclature in the county. In almost every part of it we find numerous compounds with the Scand. *býr* (cf. p. 3 n.), *fors* (p. 60 n. 3), *skáli* (p. 189), *wrá* (p. 197); also compounds with *þorp* (p. 4 n. 3), and *toft* (p. 208) are frequently met with, esp. in the East Riding. Characteristic of the woody, mountainous regions of the North and West Ridings are the many names terminating in *þveit* (see p. 96 f.), *gil* (p. 19 n.), *viðr* (p. 179 n. 2). With regard to the abundance and variety of its Scand. nature- and cultivation-names Yorkshire is not surpassed by any other county in England, though it is true the most Scand. districts of Lancashire, Cumberland, and Lincolnshire vie with it in this respect.

Passing on to Durham and Northumberland we find a place-nomenclature that exhibits comparatively few traces of the Scandinavians. Here the Scand. names do not occur in patches, as was often the case south of the Tees, but are scattered all over the two counties, and are, generally speaking, of little interest. As was to be expected they are most frequent in the southern half of Durham, near the Yorkshire border. Conspicuous are the many instances of the M.E. name *Newebiggyng* (N.E. Newbigging), from O.W.Scand. *bygging* 'building', which name is certainly found in most north. Engl. counties but nowhere so frequently as here. Judging by the place-names, the Scand. settlement in the two counties seems to have been only sporadic in character. Much of it was probably swept away through the incessant ravages of the Scots that these parts had to endure in early M.E. times.

4) The North-Western division includes the present counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. As to Lancashire it may be said, broadly speaking, to be made up of one Scandinavian and one English portion. The former comprises the hundreds of West Derby, Amounderness and Lonsdale, where Scand. place-names abound, the latter the remaining three southern hundreds in the interior (bordering on Cheshire and West Yorkshire; cf. the nomenclature contained on the Exchequer Lay Subsidy Roll, A.D. 1332), in which comparatively few are found. To Amounderness (and Cheshire) as having been the site

of the earliest recorded Scand. settlement in this division reference has been made above, p. XXXIII. In this hundred, as well as north of it, in Lonsdale, there was in M.E. times a Scand. local nomenclature which was almost equal in extent to that of the most Scandinavianized parts of Yorkshire. Nearly every type of place-name is represented here, from the *tún* (cf. p. 7 n.), *heimr* (p. 58 f.), and *býr* (p. 3 n.) of the mostly level coastal region, to the *gil* (cf. p. 19 n.), *skógr* (p. 15), *viðr* (p. 179 n. 2), M.E. *fell* (< O.W.Scand. *fjall* 'mountain'), *vrá* (p. 197), and *þveit* (p. 96 f.), &c. of the hilly upland which covers the greater part of these hundreds. Noticeable are here the many designations of patches of reclaimed land, and especially pasture-land, which are to be found among the hills, valleys, rivers and becks in the interior. The fact that the names of the latter kind are so very numerous is easily conceivable when we remember that, of the total area now under cultivation in this county, nearly three fourths is in permanent pasture, and about 92000 acres under hill pasturage (see Encyclop. Brit.).[1] Particularly

[1] Conspicuous are here, as in all the counties of the north-western division, a good many place-names terminating in *-ergh, -argh*, which very often have an O.W.Scand. man's name for 1st member, e. g. *Grimesarge* DoB. (now Grimsargh; O.W.Scand. *Grímr*), *Kelgrimesarge* 1212-46 Cockers. Ch. (now Kellamergh; from an unrecorded O.W.Scand. **Kelgrímr* < **Ketilgrímr*), *Oddisharie* 1213-19 ib. (O.W.Scand. *Oddr*), *Snellesherghe* 1240-67 ib. (perhaps from O.W.Scand. *Sniallr*, cf. Björkman, Personennamen p. 125), *Anlauesargh* 1224 Lanc. Fin. Conc. (now Anglezark, from O.W.Scand. *Anlaf*, see Björkman, o.c., p. 4), &c. This *argh, ergh*, must be identical with the word *erg* 'a summer pasture, dairy farm', which enters into the place-name *Ásgríms-erg* Orkneyinga Saga 113 (now Askary, in Caithness); the same source affords the information: *'erg . . . þat kǫllu vér setr'*. The word is of Celtic origin and goes back to Gaelic *aerg, airigh, airidh*, early Irish *airge* < *arge;* for these forms see Henderson, Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland p. 164, who also quotes not a few Scottish place-names in which the same word occurs. In the case of the north. Engl. *ergh*-names it seems probable that we have to regard *ergh* as a deposit of the language of the ancient Celtic population in these parts. The same word is found as a place-name element in Shetland and the Hebrides (see Jakobsen, Shetl. Stednavne p. 225) and, sporadically, in Yorkshire, where it may have been introduced by Scandinavians coming from Celtic countries. It should be added that the above-mentioned north. Engl. names are not to be explained from O.W.Scand. *hǫrgr* or O.E. *hearg* 'heathen temple, place of worship', which view is held by Taylor (Names and their Histories p. 390), and has been recently revived by Wyld & Hirst.

interesting, from all points of view, is the place-nomenclature of the Furness district, with its many remarkable Scand. nature and cultivation names. A considerable number of them, as well as of those falling within both the hundreds under notice, are preserved in the chartularies of Cockersand and Furness abbeys.

The Scand. place-names in Cheshire are rather few and far between; most of them are concentrated in Wirral, the small peninsula which projects into the sea between the mouths of the Dee and the Mersey. Nearly at the centre of it we find the two most interesting names: Thingwall (see p. 16) and Raby (p. 188).

The two remaining counties, Cumberland and Westmoreland, present an exceedingly rich and varied Scand. place-nomenclature, esp. the former, where Scand. names occur in great numbers in all the different wards into which it was formerly divided. They attain their highest degree of frequency, perhaps, in the southern wards, Allerdale and Leath.[1]

Peculiar to the great Cumberland plain, which surrounds the city of Carlisle and the valley of the Eden, are a fairly large number of names terminating in *-by*, on which some comments are given in Ch. V. Somewhat further south, in the Inglewood

[1] I take the opportunity of offering some remarks on the etymology of the name Allerdale. In all the M.E. records I have consulted I have found only such spellings as *Allerdale* 1285 C. Inq., *Alredal* 1315 ib., c. 1250 Br.Mus., which point to O.E. *alor, alr,* M.E. *aler*, *aller* 'an alder-tree', Alnus. But in a late 11th cent. charter of Earl Gospatric of Northumberland (see below p. 14 n. 1) occurs the spelling *Alnerdall.* Now Allerdale is traversed by the river Ellen, near the mouth of which lies the township of Ellenborough, spelt *Alinburh* 1308 C. Inq. It seems most probable that the later form *Alredal* &c. is due to popular association with M.E. *aler*. The earliest form *Alnerdall* contains the genitive of the original name of the river Ellen, i. e. M.E. **Aln* — represented by *Alin-* in *Alinburh*. This **Aln* is etymologically identical with the O.W.Scand. river-name **Qln* (**Alna*), which is known from several localities and seems to be the same word as O.W.Scand. *ǫln*, *alin* 'the arm from the elbow to the end of the middle finger; an ell'. This **Qln* enters into the O.Norw. place-name *Alnarós*, and the present *Alnedal;* for further details see FRITZNER, under *alin*, and RYGH, Elvenavne, with references. There is a river in Nhb., called Alne, which name may be of the same origin; it has given its name to several places, as Alnwick (*Alnewic* 1262 C. Inq.), Alnmouth, Alnham. Cf. too, the river Aln in Warw., in the case of which, however, I can quote no early forms.

forest, there were in M.E. times a great many Scand. cultivation names, esp. compounds with *-þveit*. This place-name element forms a leading feature in the local nomenclature of all the southern half of the county, where the great variation in the topographical conditions gave rise to the production of a place-nomenclature almost as diversified, in some respects, as that of Yorkshire. In these chiefly rugged regions, which are largely covered by hills, moorlands, pasturelands, woodlands and high mountains, varied by fertile valleys, lakes, and rivers, we meet again with the same Scand. name-types as we have seen before in North Lanc. (which presents about the same natural aspect): M.E. *fell*, *terne* (< O.W.Scand. *tjǫrn*, cf. p. 67 n.), *gill*, &c. see above under Lanc. — Much the same remarks are applicable to the Scand. place-nomenclature of Westmoreland. Most of these names belong to the southern and western parts of the county, which border on north Lanc. and Cumb.; dotted with Scand. names are, above all, the Kendal area of undulating hilly lowlands and the south-eastern part adjoining the North Riding of Yorkshire. Of less importance, again, in the same respect, is the great upland tract in the north-east (along the boundary of Durham), the wild moorlands of which are not likely to have attracted many of the immigrants, and whose M.E. local nomenclature, as far as can be judged from the records we have, was, in general, very meagre.[1]

If we take a general view of the three north-western counties (Lanc. Cumb. Wm.) with regard to their Scand. place-nomenclature, it cannot fail to strike us how many features they possess in common with Yorkshire. It goes without saying that this similarity of place-names was conditioned, to a very large extent, by that of the natural scenery. But not only the many name-elements that refer to natural characteristics correspond. There are, besides, not a few names which preserve elements of other kinds, for instance pers. names and words relating to religious worship, social customs and institutions, which are to be found only here and nowhere else in Scand. England. In several cases these names are of a distinctively O.W.Scand. shape. These points will be discussed more fully in Part II of the present work.

[1] The place-names of these counties have been dealt with, at some length, by R. Ferguson (The Northmen in Westmorel. & Cumb.), but his etymological explanations, which are based entirely on the modern forms of the names, are generally to be distrusted, in consequence, and may be said to be of little or no use in scientific place-name research.

Chapter V.

Some general remarks on the Scand. place-nomenclature in England in Old and Middle English times (see also Table of Contents).

The influence of the Scandinavians on the place-nomenclature of England (within the territorial limits before indicated) exhibits itself first of all in the production or introduction of names entirely Scand. in form, as well as in the coining of names embodying native and Scand. elements — in other words hybrid formations. But also the native names that existed in the country when the new settlers arrived, or may have come into existence during the succeeding period of amalgamation, were not seldom subject to more or less radical changes and alterations. Occasionally a place with a native name was re-named by the Scandinavians, as, e. g., when the ancient *Northworthige* of the Anglo-Saxons was changed to *Deorabŷ* (now Derby),[1] the spelling of the Ags. Chron., A.D. 917 onwards. Another similar case is represented by the O.E. place-name *Streanæshalch*, *Strenæshalc*, recorded under those forms in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (see ed. Plummer), but subsequently superseded by the Scand. *Prestebi* and *Witebi* (now Whitby), if we may trust a passage in the opening 12th cent. document of the Whitby Chartulary, which describes the newly-founded abbey there as situated '*in loco qui olim Streoneshalc vocabatur, deinde Prestebi appellabatur, nunc vero Witebi vocatur*'. Of incomparably more frequent occurrence is the phenomenon that a native name was, wholly or in part, Scandinavianized. The best-known example of this kind is the name of the city of York, the O.E. form of which was *Eoforwīc;* this became *Jórvík* in the tongue of the new settlers, and the latter form soon took precedence (cf. Zachrisson p. 63). Other striking instances which deserve attention here, are Skyrack (see p. 78), perhaps Snaith (p. 80), and, especially, many of the M.E. names apparently containing O.W.Scand. *steinn* (see p. 83) and *heimr* (p. 62 f.).

When speaking above of the introduction of Scand. place-names into England I had in my mind the possibility that com-

[1] '... *locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby*'. Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Mon. Hist. Britannica I p. 513.

plete names, perhaps sometimes of a type that was no longer productive in Scandinavia, were transplanted to English soil in their fixed traditional Scand. form by immigrants to whom they were familiar of old. It is very likely that such an assumption is sound in the case of many of the Scand. names in England to which exact parallels may be adduced from Scandinavia; see, e. g. Beckermonds p. 6, Borrowdale p. 7, Litherland p. 12, Aigburth p. 37, Raby p. 188, many names terminating in *-þveit* pp. 96-128, &c. Whether at the time of the Scand. settlement in England O.W.Scand. *heimr* was productive as a place-name element has been disputed (see p. 58). Judging by the M.E. *heim*-names it did survive at that time though it was very rare. Under such circumstances it would seem that the most remarkable M.E. *heim*-names, such as the present Fosham, Hollym, Askham, each of which had several doubles in ancient Norway, were imported stereotyped name-material of the kind now under consideration. That a Scand. importation of names, in this sense, may have taken place appears all the more probable when we turn for parallels to other countries, e. g. England and its colonies, and consider how many English names were directly transplanted into North America by the English immigrants in the 17th century and onwards.

When dealing with the Scand. place-names in England we are in a position to draw up, with some exactness, the chronological limits for the production of a large proportion of them, namely those recorded in Domesday. From the history of the settlement, as it was briefly sketched above in Ch. I-II, it is patent that the terminus a quo must be put at about 900; Domesday professes to have been finished in 1086 (cf. Ellis, Introd. I, 4), which year, accordingly, marks the terminus ad quem, and gives us a period of c. 180 years from which must date the Scand. place-nomenclature of the record. In Domesday, as far as the range of the survey goes, we find all, or most of, the well-known names terminating in *-by* (cf. p. 3 n.), *-thorp* (cf. p. 4 n.), those in *-tun* that are to be regarded as Scand. (cf. p. 7 n. 1), further those in *-heim* (p. 58 f.), generally anglicized to *-ham*. All these belong then to the earliest strata of the Scand. nomenclature in this country. But very few *thweit-* and *toft*-names appear in the same record, and not one containing *wra* or *skale;* the places subsequently designated by them must at the time of the great survey have been waste and uninhabited, perhaps depopulated, or of little

or no importance. It is interesting is to notice that the *by*-names are often to be found in the most fertile districts, especially when these are easily accessible from the sea or some river. See, by way of illustration, the many names of this kind that group themselves in the Leicestershire plain round the river Wreak (cf. p. XLIII), in the pre-eminently Scand. parts of Lincolnshire (wapentake of Calceworth &c., see p. XLII), in the Flegg hundreds in Norfolk (p. XL), and in the great Cumberland plain round the course of the river Eden (p. XLIX). In such regions we meet with the most genuine instances of these names, as a rule compounds with a pers. name as 1st member, such as in the Flegg hundreds (quoted from DoB.): *Alabei* (see p. 168), *Malteby* (O.Dan. *Malti*, pers. name), *Ormesby* (O.W.Scand. *Ormr*, pers. name), *Scroutebei* (p. 164), *Heimesbei* (p. 63), &c.

However, it should be expressly understood that the place-name terminal *-by*, as well as several others of Scand. origin, e. g. *-thorp*, *-toft*, *-thweit*, cannot in every single case be looked upon as bestowed direct by Scand. settlers, and, consequently, as affording in themselves evidence of a Scand. settlement. For these place-name elements had no doubt been soon incorporated into the general stock of words which was current in the Scand. districts, and would therefore be employed by natives, or even by immigrants of other nationalities, in the course of progressive clearing and reclaiming of land, and settlement. Striking specimens belonging to such a younger stratum of names are found among the *by*-names in Cumberland, on which we may dwell a while. Among these we notice, first of all, some entirely Scand. instances: *Crosseby* 1323 Ch.R. (now Crosby; from O.W.Scand. *kross* 'a cross', cf. O.Norw. *Krosby* E.J.), *Skaleby* (see p. 191), *Hukemannesbi* (see p. LVII), &c. There are, further, some that have a native word for 1st member: *Neuby* 1290 Ch. R. (now Newby in Irthington; from M.E. *nēwe* 'new'), *Walbye* 1354 Cal. Inq. (now Walby, from M.E. *wal* 'a wall'; the place is situated by the Roman Wall; cf. p. 88 n. 3.). But a very large percentage of the *by*-names here are made up of such as contain as 1st member a Norman or Flemish pers. name. We have now to call to mind that Cumberland did not become English until in 1092 (cf. above p. XXXVI), when William Rufus marched an army on Carlisle and added the whole district to his own kingdom. To the desolate country he sent English and Flemish colonists; see on this Freeman V, 119. As may be seen from the

Pipe Rolls (Vict. Hist.) for Cumberland during the 12th cent., there were in fact, among the land-holders there, many bearers of Flemish as well as Norman names. *Fleming*, properly one who comes from Flanders, occurs several times as a surname in the said records, and hence we cannot be astonished when we meet with the place-name *Flemingeby* 1200 Cal. Rot. Ch., now Flimby. *Lambynby* 1306 Pat. R., &c. (now Lamonby) is from M.E. *Lambin*, a pet-form of the Flemish man's name *Lambert*, *Lambrecht* (cf. this name in Bardsley). The M. Du. pers. name *Hubrecht* seems to enter into *Hobrihtebi* 1163-64 f. Pipe R. (written *Hubbrytteby* 1287 C. Inq., now Upperby); its O.E. equivalent was *Hyzebeorht*, OHG. *Hugubert*. If we now glance at the Cumberland *by*-names that embody Norman pers. names, we note *Aglunby* c. 1225 Wetherhal Reg. &c. (now Aglionby), so called from the Norman family of *Aguillun* (cf. *Richard A.* 1227 Ch. R.), who held possessions there; see Wetherhal Reg. pp. 38, 83. Bardsley thinks the present surname Allenby is 'doubtless a modification of Aglionby', but this is an error, since Allenby must be identical with Allonby in Cumb., which is spelt *Alanby* 1306, *Aleynby* 1307 Ch. R., from the Norman pers. name *Alan*, *Aleyn* (cf. *Aleinetoften* p. 212). The present Ponsonby was *Puncuneby* 1240-47 Lanc. Priv. deeds, *Punsunby* 1300 Cl. R.; a certain *John*, son of *Puncun*, *Punzun*, occurs 1178 f. Pipe R. (Cumb.), and this latter name, which must be of Norman origin, is identical with the 1st member of the place-name. From the Norman pers. name *Bochard* (cf. *Bouchard*, *Bochart* in Nouveau Larousse Illustré) is the place-name *Boschardebi* 1192 f. Pipe R., *Bochardby* 1272 f. C. Inq., now Botcherby.[1] To the Normans who settled in England, *by* as a place-name element cannot have been unfamiliar, seeing that it occurred sporadically in the old place-nomenclature of Normandy (see Fabricius p. 290, Joret p. 43).

It is obvious, then, that we are not justified in calling to our assistance all the English *by*-names when trying to form exact conclusions as to the intensity of the Scand. settlement in the various counties, at any rate not in the same degree as has been done by Worsaae, Taylor, and Browne, in their statistical calculations. The same may be said of the other categories of

[1] All these names will be given in full, together with other similar cases, in Part II.

Scand. names mentioned above. We will, in this place, devote our attention only to the numerous M.E. names terminating in *-thorp*. With regard to them I do not agree with Wyld & Hirst, who maintain (p. 393) that this word when it occurs in place-names in England is 'a thoroughly sound O.E. word'. Moorman's statement that it is met with chiefly in those districts where there are Scand. settlements — the truth of which has been called into question by the above-named scholars — is certainly correct as far as my knowledge goes. It is rare in the north-western counties of Scand. England, but very common in the most Scandinavianized districts of the Danelaw, especially in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Rutlandshire. Now it is true that a native word *þorp* did exist in the O.E. language; the word must indeed have been Common Teutonic as is practically proved by its appearance in the various Teutonic languages (cf. Falk & Torp, Etym. Wörterb.). But whether it was ever used as a place-name element in England previous to the Scand. period is, at least, most uncertain. I have found no undoubted instances on record before that time. On the other hand it was of frequent occurrence in place-names in Scandinavia, as well as on the Continent. So when, in charters of the 10th and 11th centuries, some scattered *þorp*-names present themselves in Scand. England, it is more than probable that we have before us the Scand. word. (It is of course possible that owing to the influence of the Scand. *þorp* its native equivalent began to be employed in the same function.) For its Scand. origin speaks, moreover, the circumstance that, in the case of the earliest *þorp*-names on record, viz. those found in O.E. charters and DoB., by far the majority of the compounds show Scand. words — often pers. names — as first members. Not a few are uncompounded, which applies also to very many *þorp*-names in Scandinavia. Some instances of a distinctively Scand. cast may be quoted from DoB.: *Barchertorp* (see p. 4), *Lundertorp* (p. 12), *Aiulftorp* (p. 131); *Coningestorp, Coungestorp* Yo. (from O.W.Scand. *konungr* 'king'); *Gameltorp* Yo. (O.W.Scand. *Gamall*, pers. name); *Lopintorp* (p. 148); *Biscoptorp* Li. (now Biscathorpe, from O.W.Scand. *biskup* 'bishop'); *Alatorp* (p. 169), &c. With reference to the many names that appear in DoB. and other early M.E. records simply as *Torp*, we notice that, when they re-appear one or two centuries later, they have often some qualifying word attached to them, as a rule the name of some prominent land-holder, or lord of the manor, on the spot, as, e. g.

Torp Yo. DoB., *Thorp Wyleby* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., now Thorpe Willoughby; about the middle of the 13. cent. (see Yo. doc. p. 383) *Robertus de Wilheby* is returned as holding one knight's fee in *Stiveton et Thorp* (Steeton and Thorpe W.). Compare further *Torp* Yo. DoB., *Thorp Salvayn* No. vill., now Thorpe Salvin; in No. vill. *Anketinus Salvayn* is certified as one of the lords of the place. In other cases such originally uncompounded names turn up subsequently with some distinguishing word or another place-name prefixed to them, in the latter case the name of a larger territorial unit to which the place in question pertained and by whose owners it had perhaps once been brought under cultivation as an out-lying farm. Here belong e. g. *Torp* Yo. DoB., *Paddocthorp* Kirkby (from M.E. *paddok* 'a frog, toad'), now Pallethorpe; *Thorp* Norf. DoB., *Geythorp* 1346, *Geytonthorp* 1401 F.A., now Gayton Thorpe, near Gayton; *Thorp* Norf. 1302 f., *Schuldham Thorp* 1428 F.A., now Shouldham Thorpe, near Shouldham. — Only a very few of the early M.E. *thorp*-names contain as 1st members non-Scandinavian words, as e. g. *Baconstorp* Norf. DoB. (from the M.E. nickname *Bacon*, for which see Bardsley), *Durandestorp* Derb. DoB. (from the Norman man's name *Durand*, recorded in DoB.), but their number is considerably increased in the course of the M.E. period. Many of the instances belonging to all these last-named groups were certainly of later date than the above-mentioned entirely Scand. *thorp*-names, which appear to be almost equal in age to the old *by*-names.

It was intimated above that it is a conspicuous feature about the many entirely Scand. *by*- and *thorp*-names in England that the 1st member is very frequently a personal name. This applies also to the M.E. *tun*-names, as far as they have Scand. words for 1st members. The place-names of the former two categories agree, in that respect, with the O.Norw. names of the same description, while the Danish *by*-names hardly ever contain a pers. name, the *þorp*-names as a rule do (see on this P. Lauridsen, Den gamle Danske landsby, in Aarbog for Dansk Kulturhistorie 1899). But it is worthy of attention, with regard to the above-mentioned Scand. place-names in England, that in strikingly many cases the 1st member is a surname or nickname, perhaps more often, proportionally, than in the mother countries in the same period. It may suffice, here, to refer the reader to *Blaikestun* p. 25, *Broclausbi* p. 139, *Feizbi* p. 43, *Greynesby* p. 55, perhaps *Kexby* p. 65, *Causeby* p. 147, *Maidestuna* p. 73, *Ugil-*

bardebi p. LXII, *Scroutebi* p. 164. Some more instances may be added: *Bruneskinnestorp'* Le. 1233 Cl. R., *Brunskynisthorp* 1283 Br. Mus. (now Bromkinsthorpe; from O.W.Scand. **brúnaskinn* 'brown complexion', a formation of the same kind as the surname *hvítaleðr* 'white complexion', for which see F. Jónsson, Tilnavne); *Hundemanebi* Yo. DoB. (now Hunmanby; from O.W.Scand. **hundamaðr*, perhaps = *hundasveinn* 'a dog-keeper'; cf. O.W.Scand. *hestamaðr* and *hestasveinn* 'a horse boy'); further *Hukemannesbi*, *Hukemannebi* Cumb. 1191-94 Pipe R., V.H. (now Upmanby in Allhallows; from O.W.Scand. **húkmaðr*, which is to be connected with the verb *húka* 'to sit on one's hams', and may have had much the same meaning as the recorded nicknames *húkr*, *hokinn* (see F. Jónsson, Tilnavne) 'bent forward and weak in the knees, &c.'). Thus when the earliest Scand. place-names in England are composed, in such numbers, with a pers. name as first member, this seems to indicate that at the earliest stage of the Scand. settlement in this country the primary social unit was the single family household (single farm) — as in Norway and Iceland — and not the village community. That many of the places in the East Riding of Yo. which bear names in -thorpe are to this day farms, not villages, is stated by Holderness, Place-names of the East Riding p. 21. I hope to offer some details bearing upon this problem in another place on some future occasion.

The Scand. place-nomenclature in mediæval England comprised not only the names of those spots where the new settlers built their farms. It included, besides, the names of all sorts of localities that existed within the regions populated by them; first of all the fields they cultivated, and the meadows and pastures where they grazed their cattle. A triangular piece of land in general was termed a *geiri* (for the names containing this word see p. 46 f.). Designations of meadow land and shares in turbaries[1] were often composed with the word *deill* (see p. 30).[2] A 13th cent. charter

[1] In a 12th cent. (?) deed, included in Selby Ch. II, a land-holder in Stallingborough, Li. grants to Selby Abbey '*dimidiam de prato salso . . in Fuythmarisco, et unam perticatam turbariæ de daila sua in molle ex occidentali parte, et unam perticatam turbariæ in Biker*', &c. Notice here the portion '*in molle*', i. e. in the soft part of the turbary.

[2] To the names of this kind given on pp. 32-35 may be added the following ones, which occur in charters of the 12th and 13th cent. in Selby Ch. (they all belong to Li.): *Kyrkedailes* (in Stallingborough; from O.W.Scand. *kirkia* or north. M.E. *kirke* 'church'); *Iouetdayle* (in

in Selby Ch. makes mention of *purpresturam quæ vocatur Intak'*, in Eastoft, Li., another, dated 1352, of *le Intakdike*, in Ludding-ton, Li. We have here O.W.Scand. *inntaka* (O.Swed. *intaka*, cf. Dan. *indtægt* in KALKAR; see RHAMM, p. 483 f.) 'a piece of land taken in from the wood and enclosed'. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the same word occurs, practically glossed, in one of the Ministers' Accounts of A.D. 1540-47 which are given in Whitby Ch.; here we read of ... *clausi nuper de vasto ... inclusi voc. le Intak*, and in another place ib. we find *le Newe Intak* (near Whitby). Sporadic instances of this word are still to be seen on the Ordnance Maps of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; there is, to take one typical example, a place called New Intake in Belton, Li. near Derrythorpe Common. The word survives in N.E. dial. (chiefly northern) as *intake* 'a piece of land enclosed from a moor, common, or road; a fell-side pasture; land reclaimed from a tidal river or the sea' (see E.D.D.). Numerous other Scand. field-names will be found among the material given in the etymological part of the present work, especially among the names terminating in *-þveit* p. 96 f., and *toft* p. 208 f. Compare, moreover, such noteworthy instances as *Noutegange*, &c. p. 149; *Gonnildesland* Ess. 1227-43 Br. Mus. (in Eastwood; from the O.W.Scand. female name *Gunnhildr*, for which see p. 110 n.); *Skugdale* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch. (in Barnaby; from O.W.Scand. *skuggi* 'a shade, shadow.' See, further, this name in Part II); *Danskelandes* Yo. 13. cent. Ellerton ch., Mon. VI,2 (in Aughton near Ellerton; from O.W.Scand. *danskr*, Dan. *dansk*, O.Swed. *dansker* 'Danish').

North Carlton; from O.E. *eofot* 'a debt, crime'? On the spelling *Io-* cf. ZACHRISSON p. 65 n.); *Rathildayle* (ib.; perhaps from a lost O.W.Scand. female name **Ráðhildr*, OHG. *Radohilt, Rathild?); Kukedailes* (in Stallingborough; perhaps from the same word as the O.W.Scand. nickname *kúkr*, for which see KAHLE, Altwestnord. Beinamen p. 244, or an inverted spelling of M.E. *coke* 'cock', or *cōke* 'cook'); *Holandaile* (in Eastoft; from a place-name **Holand*, perhaps Scand., cf. p. 225 n. 1). Further we note *Heveddingdeil* Li. 1316 Ch. R. (near Asperton; from M.E. *heued* 'head' (cf. p. 129 n.) + *ing* 'meadow'?); *Reddideyl* ib. (cf. *Reddeiles* p. 34); *Scovedaile* Li. 1268 Ch. R. (in Upton near Gainsborough; possibly from the same word as Icel. *skóf* (VIGF.) 'the singed crust or scraps at the bottom of a pan or kettle', Norw. dial. *skova*, Swed. *skovor*, plur., allied to O.W.Scand. *skafa* 'to scrape'. Cf. *Scrapthuait* p. 122, and in Part II under *sk*).

Of M.E. nature names which contain Scand. elements there is an almost endless host preserved in our charters and other records of a more local character. Among them we meet with names of woods and groves, hills and mountains, valleys, bays and inlets, fens and marshes, fords, &c. Relatively few in number are the names of lakes and rivers. Examples of the former kind are *Thurstaineswater* (p. 96), and several north. Engl. names terminating in M.E. *-terne*, e. g. *Blaterne* (see p. 178). Most of the river-names in England seem to be very ancient and of Celtic origin, and they were not discarded either by the Anglo-Saxon or the Scandinavian invaders. For some instances of Scand. origin see *Braitha* p. 27, *Roudha* p. 161, *Crayk* p. 69, and **Aln* p. XLIX n. Many of the north. M.E. names of streams and brooks which terminate in *-beck* without doubt embody O.W.Scand. *bekkr* and not the native *beck* (cf. this word in BJÖRKMAN, Loanwords p. 144), more particularly when the preceding member is a Scand. word, as in *Stainbec* p. 89, *Ormesbek* Li. 1238 Li. rec. (O.W.Scand. *Ormr*, pers. name), *Skaytebec* p. 135, *Uluebec* Lanc. l. 12th cent. Cockers. Ch. (in Forton; from O.W.Scand. *ulfr* 'wolf'), *Skirebec* Li. 1202 Li. rec. (see in Part II under Scand. *sk*). There is no reason for doubting the Scand. origin of such a name as a whole.

Scandinavian were further names of roads, paths, and bridges: *Thurchilesti* Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch. (O.W.Scand. *Þorkell*, O.Dan. *Thurkil*, pers. name, + O.W.Scand. *stigr*, *stigr* or *stigi* 'path'; cf. Ainsty p. 42); the names ending in O.W.Scand. *gata* (see next page), e. g. *Haresteinegate* p. 56. The bridge-names are often compounded with pers. names: *Ormesbricge [ubi artifices faciebant pontem trans Derwentum]* Yo. a. 1180 Whitby Ch. (on the river Derwent; from O.W.Scand. *Ormr*, pers. name); *Sweinesbrig* p. 92; *Gunildebrigge* Lanc. uncertain date, Furness Ch. (O.W.Scand. *Gunnhildr* &c., female name, see p. 110 n.). Cf. also *Stainbrigge* p. 89.

Space does not permit of my entering into all the additional groups of similar nature- and communication-names that might be adduced here; specimens of such names are found almost everywhere in the material of the etymological part below. I will conclude this chapter by devoting some attention to two sets of names which occur, the one in the most Scand. town in England, the other in the most Scand. district of this country.

York, as having been for a long period practically a Scandinavian town, has been mentioned above on p. XLV f. Of outstanding interest are several old street-names in the city which are of Scand. origin, and must be among the earliest Scand. names of this kind on record, whether in the Scand. mother countries or in their colonies. With two exceptions they all have O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *gata*, O.Dan. *gatæ* 'road, street', as last member. Most of them are still in use, and will be easily located on any plan within the oldest part of the city; for the purpose of identifying them I have consulted the plan given in BAEDEKER's Great Britain. The following instances may be worthy of note[1]:

Bleikestrete, see p. 25.

Fiskeregate c. 1150 Whitby Ch., *Fiskergate* c. 1146 Papal confirm. ib., *Fischergate* a. 1180 ib., &c. now Fishergate; the earliest spelling contains O.Swed. *fiskare*, O.Dan. *fiskær* 'a fisherman'. An O.W.Scand. **fiskari* does not seem to be recorded.

Gotherumgat c. 1240 York Hist., *Gotherumgate* 1275 Pet., *Goodromgate* 1397 Pat. R., now Goodramgate; from a man's name **Gotherum*, modified from O.W.Scand. *Goðormr*, *Guðormr*, on which see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen p. 49.

Hertergate 1413-22 Leon.; possibly (?) from *Hiartar*, gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hiǫrtr*, for which see LIND.

Haymangergate 1275 Pet.; from O.W.Scand. **hey-mangari*, or M.E. **hēi-mangere* 'a hay-salesman'.

Ketmangeregate 1194 York Hist. (Papal confirm.), *Ketmangergate* 1413-22 Leon.; from O.W.Scand *kjǫt-mangari*, O.Swed. *kiötmangare*, O.Dan. *kødmangere* 'a fleshmonger', = O.E. *flǣscmangere*.

Kergate 1413-22 Leon.; from M.E. *ker* < O.W.Scand. *kjarr* 'copsewood, a marsh', N.E. dial. *car*.

Conyngstrete 1413-22 Leon., now Coney Street; from O.W.Scand. *konungr* 'king'.

Coppergate 1413-22 Leon., now Coppergate; from O.W.Scand. *koppari*, O.Swed. *koppare* 'a turner, joiner', recorded also in O.Norw.

[1] The early spellings above marked with Pet. are taken from a document relating to the Cathedral of St. Peter, York, dated 1275 (see Mon. VI,3). Those marked with Leon. are from The Registrum Cartarum et Munimentorum Hospitalis St. Leonardi Ebor., in the Cottonian vol. Nero D. III; MS. apparently written about the time of Henry V. (1413-22). See Mon. VI,2.

and O.Swed. place-names, on which see FRITZNER, and SÖDERWALL.

Mikelgat 1230 York Hist., *Mykylgate* 1399 Pat. R., *Mikelgate* 1413-22 Leon., now Micklegate; from O.W.Scand. *mikill*, O.Swed. *mykil*, O.Dan. *mykæl*, or M.E. *mikel* 'great, large'.

Plouswayngate 1413-22 Leon.; from O.W.Scand. **plógsveinn*, presumably = *plógkarl* 'a ploughman'; here perhaps used as surname.

Sceldergate, Skeldergata 12. cent. Whitby Ch., *Skyldergate* 1399 Pat. R., *Skeldergate* 1413-22 Leon., now Skeldergate; from O.W.Scand. *skjaldari* 'a shield-maker'.

Steingate, see p. 89.

Not a few additional names in *-gate* existed, according to the same records, and do still exist in the city, but as they all seem to contain a native M.E. word for 1st member they are of minor interest in this connection, and I content myself with referring the curious reader to the records in question. It may be observed that street-names ending in *-gate* are to be found in several other towns in Scand. England, from Peterborough up to Carlisle; but the remaining M.E. instances I have met with have proved to be less worthy of note here than those quoted above. For some similar modern names which occur in towns in Lancashire, see PARTINGTON, p. 54.

We need not go very far from York to find, in the same county, a region which, as far as the evidence of its place-names goes, might be appropriately described as the most Scandinavianized part of England (cf. p. XLVI). I am referring to the Whitby district — in this case the country lying within a semi-circle of a 6 or 7 mile radius, counting from Whitby as centre. Most of the ground under cultivation is very fertile, which circumstance in itself may have sufficed to attract the new settlers; to this must be added the favourable situation on the sea-coast, which offers good natural harbours or anchorages in sundry places. Within the limits just indicated, almost every place-name seems in early M.E. times to have been Scand. in form, and, as a rule, West Scandinavian. Many of the names occurring here are explained in the etymological part below, Ch. 1—7, and the rest will be in Part II. But in order that the reader may form an idea of the aspect presented, with regard to local names, by a thoroughly Scand. district in England in the early Middle Ages, I have held it expedient here to draw up a survey of those names, with some

very brief etymological notes in cases of such instances as are not included in Ch. 1—7. An exhaustive list of all the names recorded here in the course of the M.E. period would cover many pages, and the compilation of it would at present involve some practical difficulties which would be out of all proportion to the results. I will, therefore, confine myself to giving the certainly very considerable number of most interesting instances which are preserved in one of our earliest and most instructive documents, the so-called Memorial of Foundation in the Whitby Chartulary. According to the Editor of the chartulary this document is 'certainly of earlier date than 1180'. It contains the following Scand. place-names belonging to the district:

Witebi; O.W.Scand. *hvítr* 'white', *býr* 'farm'.
Prestebi; » *prestr* 'a priest', *býr* 'farm'.
Overbi; » *ofarr* 'above, higher up', *býr* 'farm'.
Nedhrebi; » *neðarr* 'lower, farther down', *býr* 'farm'.
Steinsecher; see p. 81.
Thingwala; see p. 16.
Leirpel; see p. 71.
[*Helredale; (?)* O.W.Scand. *hellir* 'a cave' (in rocks), *dalr* 'valley'.]
Gnip; cf. O.W.Scand. *gnípa* 'a steep rock or peak with a beetling upper part'.
Hauchesgard; see p. 143.
Normanebi; perhaps from O.W.Scand. *Norðmaðr* 'a Northman, Norwegian' (cf. Björkman, Personennamen p. 98 f.).
Bertwait; see p. 103.
Setwait; see p. 121.
Snetune; from O.W.Scand. *snær, snjár* 'snow'?
Hugelbardebi, Ugilbardebi (written *Uglebardebi, Uggelbardebi* in other 12. cent. charters ib., DoB. has *Ugleberdesbi,* now Ugglebarnby); from an O.W.Scand. nickname **Uglubarði* or *-barðr* 'owl-bearded'. Cf. the compounds given by F. Jónsson, Tilnavne p. 207 f.
Sourebi; see p. 163.
Risewarp; O.W.Scand. *hrís* 'shrubs, brushwood', and *varp,* recorded in several applications (see Fritzner, and Rygh, Indl.), here like Norw. dial. *varp* in the general sense of 'something thrown together, amassed.' The name would thus properly signify a piled-up heap of brushwood.

Stachesbi; from O.W.Scand. *stakkr* 'a stack' (of hay or peat), &c.; or from the same word used as a surname (cf. KAHLE, Altwestn. Beinamen p. 180).

Baldebi; O.W.Scand. *Baldi*, pers. name, *býr*, 'farm'.

Breccha; » *brekka* 'a slope'.

Flore; » *flórr* 'a cow-stall' (see FRITZNER).

Eschedale; from *Eske*, the name of the river Esk, possibly identical in origin with the O.Norw. river-name **Eskja* (see RYGH, Elvenavne); *dalr* 'valley'.

Mulegrif; O.W.Scand. *múli* 'a jutting rock' (between two dales, &c.); see further p. 85 n. 3.

Agge-milne; from O.W.Scand. **Aggi* (O.Dan. *Aggi*, O.Swed. *Agge*), a short form of *Agmundr*, *Agvaldr*, or perhaps from the same word as Swed. dial. *agg* 'a contrary current, backwater in a river, esp. by the bank' (cf. Norw. dial. *ag* 'surging of waves'); *mylna* 'a mill.'

Fielingam, *Fielinga* (in other 12. cent. deeds ib. *Figelingam*, *Figelinge*); perhaps plur. forms of an O. Scand. patronymic **Fyglingr*, derived from O.W.Scand., O.Dan. *Fugl*, O.Swed. *Fughle;* cf. the O.Swed. place-name *Føghlinge*, HELLQUIST p. 32.

Hachanesse; O.W.Scand. *Haki*, pers. name, *nes* 'a ness projecting into the sea'.

Dales; perhaps from O.W. Scand. *dalr* 'valley.'

Silfhou; from the O.Dan. man's name *Sylve* or the feminine *Sylfa*, *Silfa* (see WIMMER), and O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'mound, cairn'.

Gaitelei; identical with *Gaytelaye,* for which see p. 53.

Stoupe; see p. 165.

Kesebec; from O.W.Scand. *kesja* 'a spear' = *spjót*, and *bekkr* 'a stream'. The name may indicate the course of the beck as being straight; cf. the Norw. stream-names *Flena* and *Spjota* in RYGH, Elvenavne.

Bilroche (for **Bilrothe;* a Papal confirm. dating from c. 1146 ib. has *Bilrod*); perhaps from O.W.Scand. *Bili*, pers. name, and *rjóðr* or *ruð* 'a clearing in a wood'?

Asulvebi; see p. 175.

Middle-English place-names of Scandinavian origin.

Ch. 1. Names containing distinctively O.Scand. inflexional forms.

During the period (c. 900—c. 1100) to which belonged the principal part of the making of the Scand. local nomenclature in England, the O.Scand. inflexional system presented not a few marked differences from the O. English Some of these differences, which depended on divergent lines of phonetic development as well as on the greater influence of analogy in the latter language, are reflected in the Scand. place-names that came into existence in England during the course of the period just mentioned. All the instances to be taken into consideration belong to the inflexions of nouns. We find here the gen. sing. ending *-ar* (as a rule reduced to *-er*) of various masc. and fem. stems, the acc. (nom.) plur. endings *-ar* (*-er*) and *-er* of fem. *wō-* and *i-* stems resp., etc. (Cf. the exposition of the O.W.Scand. declensions in Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[3]). None of these case-endings occurred in O.E. The names in question, which thus afford a very reliable criterion of their origin, are as follows:

Aghemundernes Lanc. 930 York Hist.[1]; *Agemundrenesse* DoB.; *Agmundernes* 12th c. Chron. of the Archb. of York[2] (in York Hist.); *Aumundernes* 1190 Cockersand Ch., 1216—22 Lanc. Inq.,

[1] Charter of King Æthelstan, also printed in C.S. 703 (A. D. 934) and C.D. 352 (starred by Kemble), both of which give the spelling *Agemundernes*.

[2] MS. B. (14th c.) has *Aimundernes*, MS. G. (15th c.) *Aumundernes*.

1252 C. Inq.; *Aumundernesse* 1199—1243 Cockers. Ch., 1207 R. Oblat., 1281 Wickwane's Reg.; *Almundernies* 1206, *Agmondernesse* 1214, *Augmonderness* 1226 Lanc. Inq.; *Augmodernesse* 1243 Pat. R.; *Aumondernes* 1244 C. Inq.; *Amundernesse* 1252 Ch. R., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., Tax. eccl.; *Amounderness* 1257 C. Inq.; *Amunderness* 1267-76 N. Reg.; *Aundrenesse* 1291 Pat. R.; *Amundernese* 1296 Cal. Inq.; *Aumunderneys* 1297 Lanc. Inq.; *Amondernesse* 1327 C. Inq., 1438 f. Pat. R.; *Amundrenes* I. N., 14th c. Metr. Chron. of the Church of York (York Hist.); *Aundernes* 1443 Pat. R.; now Amounderness (wap).

The 1st member is a normal form *Agmundar*, gen. of the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Agmundr* or *Qgmundr* (La.), O.Swed. *Aghmunder* etc. (see Lundgren)[1]. In the form *Ag(e)mund* this name appears several times in late O.E. records, esp. those of the 11th cent., moreover, we find *Agamund*, Thorpe, Dipl. p. 325 (1032); see further Searle, On., and Napier & Stevenson in Anect. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Ser. VII pp. 63, 149. In O.E. texts, previous to the Scandinavian invasion, no corresponding native name is recorded, apart from the noteworthy *Agesmundi* (gen.) C.S. 96 (697), the former part of which still retains the original *-s* of the suffix (cf. Goth. *agis* 'fear'). — Cf. in ancient Norway *Ogmundagarde* D.N. 9 (1375) and other, later instances, cited by Rygh (Personnavne, p. 284).

Acrer Lanc. DoB.; *Altekar* 1251 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; now Altcar[2].

The form in DoB. represents O.W.Scand *akrar*, nom. plur. of *akr* (O.E.Scand. *aker*), corresponding to O.E. *æcer*, *æceras*. Plural forms of *akr* were not seldom used as place-names in Norway, e. g. '*i Akrum*' D.N. 4 (1363), etc., cf. Rygh, N.G. II, 245; in Iceland we meet with '*at Ockrum*, *Aukrum*' La. and the present *Akrar*, mentioned by Kålund. The same etymology is suggested by J. Sephton (in Notes on the South. Lanc. place-names in Domesday Book, Otia Merseiana IV, p. 73), who points out that the name agrees well with 'the low-lying fields of Great Altcar, near the Scand. Fornebei'.

[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *nes* 'headland, neck of land' = O.E. *næss*, O.Swed. *näs*.

[2] Local pronunciation 'Akker', according to Sephton.

The 2nd instance given above cannot represent the original form of the name. It seems that in the course of time either the place was re-named, or the earliest name was, by popular etymology, altered so as to reflect other conspicuous features of the locality. It obviously took its new name from the river Alt, being enclosed on three sides by that river and its affluents; the 2nd member may be O.W.Scand. *kiarr* 'marshy ground' (M.E. *ker*, see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 142).[1] Camden has the form *Alker*.

Asmundrebi, *Hashundebi* Yo. DoB.; *Asmunderby* 1189, 1198 Fountains Mem., c. 1210 f. Ripon Mem., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., Kirkby, 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1314 C. Inq., No. vill., 1338 Pat. R., 1344 Cl. R., 1378 Poll-tax, 1393 Ripon Mem., 1452 f. Ripon Ch. Acts; *Asmu'dby*, *Assmu'deby* T.N.; *Asmonderby* 1303 Pat. R., 1352 f. Cal. Inq.; *Asmondreby* 1311 Ch. R.; now Aismunderby.[2]

The 1st mem. is normally O.W.Scand. *Ásmundar*, gen. of the common pers. name *Ásmundr* (La., etc.). O.Swed. *Asmunder*; O.Dan. *Asmund*, etc., recorded as early as on a Runic stone of the 8th c., see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.,[3] p. 344. In England this name is seldom met with in its Scand. form; the only instance I have come across is *Asmund* in the list of Ælfric's fostermen (early 11th cent.). The name was apparently often anglicized owing to the influence of the native *Osmund*, which seems to have been in frequent use throughout the O.E. period (cf. further the other O.Scand. pers. names compounded with *As-* which are dealt with below, Ch. 5). O.W.Scand. *Ásmundr* is found in comparatively late O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Asmundarudh* D.N. 1 (1449); see Rygh, Personnavne, p. 18 f.

Asmundrelac Yo. DoB.; *Osmunderlay* 1174 York Hist.; *H[os]muderley* 1257 Pat. R.; *Osmundeby* Kirkby; *Osemunderl[ey]* 1280 Cl. R.; *Osmunderley* Tax. eccl., 1301 Yo. Subs., 1311 f., 1408 Pat. R., 1316 No. vill.; *Osmunderlaie* 1319 Cl. R.; *Os-*

[1] Cf. map and Harrison, Place-names of the Liverpool District, p. 34. According to H. 'car is a common word in this part of Lanc. for moss-land.'

[2] The township of A.-with-Bondgate, south of Ripon. Cf. Skaife in Yo. doc., p. 435 n. — 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bœr*, *býr* m. (O. Swed. *byr*, O.Dan. *by*) 'farm-buildings, a farm, abode, the farm-yard and buildings'. Cf. Fritzner. See also Introd. Ch. V.

munderleye 1340 Pat. R.; *Osmondirlay* 1398 Pat. R.; now Osmotherly.

1st mem. as in prec. name.[1]

Asemunderlawe Lanc. 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Asmunderlowe* 1299, *Asmundrelau* 1330 Lanc. Inq.; *Asmunderlaw* 14th cent. Furness Ch.; *Asmondirlawe* 1311 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Asmondrelawe* 1344, *Asmonderley* 1357 Cal. Inq.; now Osmotherly.

1st mem. as in prec. name.[2]

Barchertorp, *Barchetorp* Yo. DoB.; *Barkesthorp* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Barkethorp* Kirkby, 1297 Yo. Subs., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill., 1343 f. Cal. Inq., 1346 Cat.A.D.; *Barkthorpe* 1302 Cal. Inq.; *Barkertorp* t. Edw. III. Cat.A.D.; *Barkthorp* 1422 Cal. Inq.; now Barthorpe or B. Bottoms.

1st mem. appears originally to have been *barkar*, gen. sing. of O.W.Scand. *børkr* m. (O.Dan. *bark*, O.Swed. *barker*) 'cortex', or the same case of the common O.W.Scand. pers. name *Børkr*, which is recorded as early as La. and is very difficult to distinguish from the appellative in compound place-names.[3] Cf. the O.W.Scand. place-name '*á Barkarstǫðum*', given by Lind, and the next name.

[**Barkedale** Yo. 1115 Bardney ch., Mon. I; *Borcherdale* 1215 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Barkedale* c. 1270 Giffard's Reg., 1297 Yo. Subs., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill.; *Berkildale* Kirkby; *Barkeldale* 1302 Yo. inq., 1309 Cl. R.; now Bartindale (Farm).

Though nothing can be said with any degree of certainty, I am inclined to consider this name to be an equivalent of the O. Norw. place-name '*j Barkardale*' D.N. 5 (1317), the 1st mem. of which is the same as in prec. name.[4] See above. The substitu-

[1] 2nd mem. M.E. *leye* (O.E. *lēah*) 'meadow, pasture'. The spelling *lac* is well instanced in DoB. and seems to depend on Norman sound-substitution; see further Zachrisson, p. 151 f.

[2] 2nd mem., in its earliest form, seems to be M.E. *lau* (O.E. *hlāw*) 'a hill, esp. one more or less round or conical'; the word belongs to the northern counties (see N.E.D.). In the 14th cent. it was replaced, in this name, by M.E. *leye*. Cf. prec. name.

[3] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *þorp* 'a farm; hamlet, village'. See further Introd., Ch. V, and Fritzner.

[4] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *dalr* (O.E.Scand. *dal*) 'valley' = O.E. *dæl*.

tion of *l* for *r* in *Barkel-* etc. seems to depend on a kind of dissimilation from the *r* of the stem syllable, facilitated by the existence of the *l* in the 2nd member, and is probably due to Anglo-Norman influence. As analogous cases may be considered M.E. *marble* < *marber*, *lorel* < *lorer*, *laurer* etc.[1], as also the early M.E. spellings of the place-names *Herdelbi* < **Herderbi*, *Lundeltorp* < *Lundertorp*, which are dealt with further on in this chapter. Some other, South Engl. instances found in DoB., are adduced by Zachrisson, p. 142 f., where the problems involved are discussed at length.[2]]

Bechelinge Li. DoB.; *Becheringa* Surv. 1118; *Bechering* t. Hen. II. Br. Mus.; *Bekering* 1165 f. Br. Mus., 1170—71 Pipe R., 1234 Li. rec., 1271 C. Inq., 1296 A.Plac., 1316 f. F.A., 1387 Cal. Inq.; *Bekeringe* 1290 Cl. R., 1396, 1415 Cal. Inq.; *Bekering*, *Bekerig* Rot.H.; *Bekeryng* 1343 Cl. R., 1415 f. Cal. Inq., 1442 Pat. R.; *Bekeringes*, *Bekerings* 1425 Cal. Inq.; *Bykerynge* 1489 C. Inq.; now Beckering (par. of Holton).

This name represents an O.W.Scand. compound **bekkiar-eng* or *-engia* (gen. plur.), the 1st mem. being gen. sing of *bekkr*

[1] See further Behrens, Beitr. zur Geschichte der französ. Spr. in England I, p. 195. — Such a dissimilation was not unknown in O.W. Scand. See e. g. the O.Norw. place-name '*a Borgalstadom*' D.N. 5 (1413), etc. < **Borgarstaðir*. Rygh, N.G. III p. 178.

[2] The same gen. form *barkar*, or possibly M.E. *barkare* 'a tanner', which can perhaps also be taken into consideration in the case of the above compounds, constitutes the 1st mem. of *Barkerhals* Cumb. 1298 Cal. Inq., 1300 Pat. R.; the 2nd mem. is probably M.E. *hals* 'collum', a narrow neck of land, etc. See N.E.D. hals, hause. From a formal point of view O.W.Scand. *hallr* 'slope, hill', and M.E. *hale* (O.E. *hālh*) 'corner, nook', should also be considered. Here belongs further *Barkerclos* Cumb. 1363 Rot. Orig., the 2nd mem. of which is explained by the context: '. . . *de uno clauso vocato B.*' — M.E. *bark* is not recorded until c. 1300 in Cursor M. The next instances given by N.E.D. occur in texts, the vocabularies of which contain numerous traces of Scand. influence. Apart from the place-names discussed above there are not a few M.E. place-names that show as the 1st element *Bark-*, *Barke(s)-*, the *-a-* being, as far as I have been able to ascertain, original. (These names will be dealt with further on, in due order.) All of them belong to Scandinavian England, more exactly to the following counties: Nhb, Yo., Li., Derb., Chs., Le., Suff., Ess. These facts taken into consideration, the Scand. origin of M.E. *bark* can hardly be doubted. Björkman, Loan-words p. 230, gives the word as possibly borrowed from Scand.

'a stream' (O.Swed. *bækker,* N.E. beck). As shown by the 1-inch map of the Ordnance Survey, the parish of Beckering is situated between two streams, which join at Rand, somewhat more than a mile to the southwest.[1] — In the spelling of DoB. the original *r* has been replaced by *l*, which in this case is without doubt a purely Anglo-Norman feature. The interchange of r and l in this position is a phenomenon by no means rare in place-names occurring in c.M.E. records. For some other instances taken from DoB., see Zachrisson, p. 140 f.

Bekirmet Cumb. 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Bikermet* 1194 Pipe R. (V. H.); *Bechermet, Bechirmet* 1262 Calder Reg., Mon. V; *Beckermet* 1267—76 N.Reg., 1321 Cal. Inq., 1322 Cl. R.; *Beckermeth* 1291 Tax. eccl.: *Beckirmet* 1294 Cl. R.; *Bekermet* Furness Ch., 1334 Cal. Inq., 1338 Cl. R.; *Bekermett* 1363, *Beckermothe* 1386 Cal. Inq.; *Bekarment* 1534 Valor eccles. of Calder Abbey, Mon. V; now Beckermet.

1st mem. as in prec. name.[2]

Beckermote Yo. 12th. c. Fountains Reg., Mon. V; *Bekeresmotes* 1241 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Bekirmontis* 1408 Pat. R.; now Beckermonds.

To be explained as is the preceding name.[3] Camden has *Beggermans.*

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *eng* f. or *enge* n. (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[3] §§ 362, 372) 'meadow.'

[2] 2nd mem. appears originally to have been O.W.Scand. *mót* n. = O.E. *mōt* 'a meeting; junction' (Middendorf). The place is in fact situated not far from the junction of two streams. Thus this place-name is a parallel to the O.Norw. *Bekkiarmote* E. J. However, the constantly recurring spelling *-met* with the *e*-vowel is conspicuous and calls for some explanation. It is most likely that the *e* was introduced, by way of popular etymology, from the related native words, viz. M.E. *mēten*, O.E. *[ʒe]mētan* 'to meet', and the verbal derivative M.E. *mēting*, O.E. *[ʒe]mēting,* 'finding, meeting; a meeting of roads.' It may be added that N.E. meeting is recorded since the 16th cent. in the sense of 'joining, junction, confluence of rivers'. See N.E.D. Camden gives the form *Bekermet.* Of some interest is the comment of a 17th cent. writer, Sir Daniel Fleming (in his Survey of Cumberland), on this place-name: 'Beckermet — writ anciently Beckermond, it being placed near the mouth of the river Kirkbie'. Cf. note to the next name.

[3] 2nd mem., in its earliest form, as in prec. name. In late M.E. time the Norman *mont, mond* 'mountain' seems to have been intro-

Bernertone Staff. DoB. Not identified (cf. Eyton, Domesday Studies, pp. 35, 72). The 1st mem. cannot be traced to any native word. On the other hand it might be derived from an O.W.Scand. normal form *biarnar*, gen. sing. of *biǫrn* 'a bear', frequently used as a personal name (see Lind) [1] O.Dan. *biorn, biøn;* O.Swed. *biorn, biörn*. Cf. in ancient Iceland the place-names *Biarnardal, 'i Biarnarnesi'* La.; in Denmark *Biornæthorp, Biørnæthorp* LCD.

Borgherdal Wm. 1247 Ch. R.; now Borrowdale.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *borgar*, gen. sing. of *borg* f. 'fortified place' (Goth. *baúrgs*, O.E. *burh*). According to Collingwood (The Vikings in Lakeland, Saga-Book I, 182—96) the two valleys were named so after the old Roman forts situated in them.[2] Cf. in Iceland the place-name *'i Borgardal'* La. and several other similar compounds; in Norway *'J Borgardale'* E.J.

Borcherdale Cumb. 1209—10 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Borcheredale* 1292, *Borudale* 1336, *Borodale* 1421 Furness Ch.; *Borowdale* 1536—38 Lanc. rec.; now Borrowdale.

Etymology as in the preceding name. Camden gives *Borrodale*.

Boutherdalbeck, *Beutherdalbeck* Cumb. 1322 Cl. R.; *Bouthdale; Overboutherdale bek* 1338 Cl. R. (p. 477); now Bowtherdale (Beck).

The 1st component[3] is the place-name **Boutherdal*, which contains as the 1st mem. O.W.Scand. *búðar*, gen. sing. of *búð* f. 'a temporary hut, shed or building'. O.Swed. *bōp*, O.Dan. *bod*.[2] The name is distinctly West Scand. in form. In Iceland we find exactly the same name: *Budardal, *Búðardalsá* La.; cf. in Norway *Budœrdale* E.J.

duced on the analogy of M.E. place-names of Norman origin which contained this word, such as e. g. *Richmond* Yo. No. vill.; *Beaumond Beaumont* Ess. 1303 F.A., etc. Cf. Zachrisson p. 62.

[1] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *tún* 'a hedged or fenced plot, enclosure within which a house is built, the farm-house with its buildings, a homestead', etc. = O.E. *tūn*. Further details about this word when occurring in M.E. place-names of more or less certain Scand. origin, will be given in Part II. Cf. also Introd. Ch. V.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Barkedale*, see above.

[3] 2nd component is M.E. *beck* 'a stream', O.W.Scand. *bekkr*. Cf. Björkman, Loan-words, p. 144.

Burtunstather, *Burtonstather*, *Burtonstarer* Li. Rot.H.; *Burton-Stather* 1299 Cal. Inq.; *Burtonstathe*, *Burton Stathre* No. vill.; *Burton Stather* 1314 Ch. R., 1329 f., 1342 Pat. R.; *Burtonstathre* 1318 Pat. R.; *Burtonstathe* 1326, *Burtonestather* 1336 Pat. R.; *Burton cu' Stather* 1340 I.N.; *Burton Stathere* 1342 Pat. R.; *Burtonstater* 1350 Cal. Inq.; *Burtonstather* 1423 f. Pat. R., 1431 F.A.; now Burton Stather.

The 2nd component is acc. (nom.) plur., normally *stǫðuar*, of O.W.Scand. *stǫð* f. 'a landing-place, berth, harbour'. According to VIGF. the word was used especially in plural. This etymology is suggested by the site of the place on the river Trent, not far from the Humber. Nearly half a mile from Burton Stather, higher up on the 'Cliff' hills (Lincoln Heights), lies Burton [upon Stather], to which two or three of the above M.E. instances can possibly refer. This name, which seems to be of native origin (written *Burtona* t. Rich. I. Br.Mus., *Burton* 1401 f. F.A., etc.), enters as the 1st component into Burton Stather. Hence we may be justified in concluding that in bygone days the latter place belonged to Burton and served as the landing-place of its residents. About 1 ½ miles south of Burton [upon Stather], on the same range of hills, we find the present township of Flixborough and, about half a mile below it on the Trent, its old landing-place Flixborough Stather. Cf. this name below. Several equivalents of these two names exist on O.Norw. territory. One instance may be adduced by way of illustration. In the so-called Trondhjem district stands, not far from a river, the farm of Hove (spelt *Hofue* B.J.); below, on the river-bank, there is another farm called Hofstad (spelt *Hofstadhom* B.J.), evidently the ancient landing-place of the former. See RYGH, N.G. XV, 36; for additional instances cf. ibd. I, 215; III, 164, etc.[1]

[1] In O.W.Scand. *stǫð*, *stǫðuar* the original *a* of the stem has undergone *w*-mutation; this phenomenon is, however, never reflected in the Scand. loan-words adopted into M.E., see BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words p. 289 f. The absence of any symbol for the *-w-*, even in the earliest M.E. spellings af B. Stather, cannot be due to O.W.Scand. sound-development, nor can it be proved to result from any analogical influence, as far as that language is concerned. It seems, however, that of the O.Scand. *wa-* (and *wō-*) stems that occur in M.E., no forms are recorded which have preserved the *-w-*. In the present case, the consonant-combination *-ðw-* was possibly felt to be unfamiliar to the native ear, which may have contributed towards the loss of the latter sound.

Dailderhou Yo. e. 13th c. Whitby Ch.
1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *deildar,* gen. sing. of *deild,* f.: 1) dealing, distribution, division 2) a share, allotment, portion.[1] See FRITZNER. Cf. in ancient Iceland the names (*til*) *Deilldar gils, Deilldar hialla,* etc. La. — The same form of this word, with its diphthong anglicized to a, enters into:

Dalderby Li. c. 1220 Rot. Hug., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., Tax. eccl., 1292, 1315 f. Cl. R., 1316, 1428 F.A., 1327 f. Pat. R., 1334 C. Inq., I.N., 1380 Cal. Inq.; *Daldyrby* 1431 F.A.; now Dalderby.[2]

Dalderton Yo. 1197 A. Plac. Not identifiable.
1st mem. perhaps as in prec. name.[3]

Echeringe, *Ecringe* Nott. DoB., etc.; see in Ch. 2.

Aimundrebi, *Edmundrebia* Yo. DoB.; *Aymunderby* 1255 Yo. inq., 1309 f. Pat. R., No. vill., 1323 Cal. Inq.; *Eymunderby* 1274 Yo. inq., Kirkby; *Aymonderby* 1301 Yo. Subs., 1359 f. Cal. Inq.; *Aymondreby* 1303 Rot. Orig.; *Aymundresby* 1308 Pat. R.; *Aymonderley* 1315 Cal. inq. da.; *Amonderby* 1317 Pat. R.; now Amotherby.[4]
1st mem. is the gen. (normally in *-ar*) of the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Eymundr* (recorded in La.: *Eirikr Eymundar son,* King of Sweden). See further LIND, and RYGH, Personnavne. O.Swed. *Emundær.* In one of the spellings of DoB. there appears quite a different name, O.E. *Eadmund,* which must be due to some error on the part of the scribe, seeing that the form still shows the Scand. genitive ending.[2]

Flixburghstather Li. 1298 Cal. Inq.; now Flixborough Stather.

[1] 2nd mem. apparently O.W.Scand. *haugr,* O.Swed. *hōgher,* O.Dan. *høi* 'hill, mound, cairn'.
[2] 2nd mem. as above in *Asmundrebi.*
[3] 2nd mem. as above in *Bernertone.*
[4] Local pronunciation 'Āmerby, Emmerby' (HOPE); 'Amerby' (TAYLOR, Names etc., p. 351).

With regard to the 2nd component see above under Burton Stather.[1]

Herdrebi, *Herdebi* Nott. DoB.; *Hertheby* t. Hen. I. (inspex. Edw. II.) Wirkesop ch., Mon. VI, 1290 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Herdelbi* 1202 Rot. canc.; *Hordeby* 1302 F.A.; *Herdeby* 1267—76 N. Reg., 1316 F. A., 1378 Pat. R.; *Hardeby* 1385 Pat. R., 1382 f. Cal. Inq.; *Hardby* 1490 C. Inq.; now Harby.

1st mem. may be an original O.W.Scand. *hjarðar*, gen. sing. of *hjorð* 'a herd of cattle', fem. *i*-stem. O.Dan. *hiorþ*, O. Swed. *hiorþ*, *hiordher* m. Cf. in Iceland the place-names '*i Hiardarholti*', '*a Hiardarnesi*', etc. La. On the other hand, the O.W. Scand. pers. name *Herrøðr* (in the gen. case, normally in *-ar*) should be taken into consideration; see Lind. As for the A.N. rendering of Teut. *ð* with *d* cf. Stolze, § 38, and Zachrisson, p. 95 f. The spelling *Herdelbi* is dealt with above, under *Barkedale*.[2]

Herdertorp, *Herdetorp* Li. DoB.; *Hardesthorp* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Hardlistorp* T.N.

1st mem. perhaps as in *Herdrebi*. The name *Herdertorp* etc. seems to have disappeared about the middle of the M.E. period. The locality designated by it must have been in the Wap. of Calceworth, near Hogsthorpe or Addlethorpe. It is noteworthy that some M.E. spellings of the latter name do not differ very much from those of *Herdertorp*, which may have led to occasional confusion of the two names and renders all attempts at identification very difficult.[3]

Hildreuuelle, *Ildreuuelle* Yo. DoB.; *Hilderwelle* c. 1146 (Papal confirm.), a. 1180 f. Whitby Ch.; *Hilderwel* 1202, *Hilderwell*, *Hylderwell* 13th c. Guisbr. Ch.; *Hilderwell* 1226 Gray's Reg., Kirkby, 1286 Pat. R., Tax. eccl., 1314 C. Inq., No. vill., 1332 f. Pat. R., 1339 f. Cal. Inq., 1475 Pat. R.; *Hilderwelle* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Hildrewell* 1314 C. Inq., 1347 Pat. R.; *Hyldeswell* I.N.; *Hilierwell* 1344 Cal. Inq.; *Hylderwella* 1394/95 Whitby Ch.; *Hil-*

[1] 1st component is the name of the adjoining village of Flixborough (written *Flichesburc* Surv. 1118, *Flykesborw* 1303 F.A., etc.). Etymology obscure. See further in Part II.

[2] 2nd mem. as above in *Asmundrebi*.

[3] 2nd mem. as in *Barchertorp*, see above.

derswell 1374, *Hylderwell* 1375 Cal. Inq.; *Hynderwell* 1490 C. Inq.; now Hinderwell.

1st mem. can be the genitive — normally *Hildar* — of the O.W.Scand. female name *Hildr*, which, according to Lind, was in frequent use during the Viking Age.[1] It is found in several O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Hildertun* D.N. 6 (1385), *Hilldar land* (see further Lind). A parallel to the former name, on English territory, is perhaps

Hildertona, *Hildreton* Nhb. 12th c. Rievaulx Ch.; *Hilderton, Ilderton* 1255 Nhb. Ass. R.; *Hilderton, Yldertone* 1278 ibid.; *Hildirton* T. N.; *Hildreton, Hillerton, Ildreton* 1346 F. A.; *Ilderton* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1307 Ch. R., 1335 Pat. R., 1428 F. A.; *Ildyrton* 1465 Pat. R.; now Ilderton.[2]

[**Chirchedele** Lanc. DoB.; *Kirkedale* 1212 f. Lanc. Inq., t. Edw. I. Plac.Warr., etc.; *Kirkedal* 1241 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Kyrkedal* I.N.; *Kyrkodale* 1526 Cal. Plead.; now Kirkdale.

As may be seen from the latest instance above, the 1st mem. can represent a normal form *kyrkiu*, gen. sing. of O.Scand. *kyrkia, kirkia,* etc. = O.E. *cyrice,* N.E. church.[3] That the full final vowel of this genitive should be found as late as the beginning of the 16th cent., while in all earlier spellings it has been reduced to *-e* is most surprising and is probably due to orthographical error. Cf. on O.W.Scand. territory *Kirkiuby* D.N. 11 (1376), *Kirkiuhollt* D. I. 3 (1358); in Denmark *Kyrkyby, Kyrkeby* LCD. On other English place-names compounded with O.Scand. *kyrkia*, see under Scand. k, in Part. II.]

[**Cleterhe** Cumb. 1201—30 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Cleter* Tax. eccl., 1322 Cl. R., 1363 Cal. Inq., 1534 Valor eccl. (Calder Abbey, Mon. V); *Cleterne* 1321 Cal. Inq., 1322 Cl. R.; *Cletergh* 1334 C. Inq.; *Cletergh, Clet'* 1338 Cl. R.; *Cletter* 1490 C. Inq.; now Cleator (also Camden's form).

Perhaps best to be explained from O.W.Scand. *klettar*, nom. plur. of *klettr* 'a rock, cliff' (< Teut. **klintaz*). O.Swed.

[1] 2nd mem. M.E. *welle* 'a spring, fount' = N.E. well.

[2] 2nd mem. as above in *Bernertone*. — O.W.Scand. *Hildr* etc. seems to enter, moreover, into the place-name *Hildreschelf, Ilderschelf* Yo. DoB.; *Hildreskelf* 1166—67 Pipe R.; mod Hinderskelf. This name will be dealt with in Part II, under Scand. sk.

[3] 2nd mem. as in *Barkedale*, see above.

klinter; Dan. *klint, klit.* The word was not seldom used as a place-name in Norway, e. g. *Kletta* (acc. plur.) E.J., '*af Klættom*' B.J.[1] In the 14th cent. the final *-er* of *Cleter* seems to have been associated with and occasionally superseded by *-erg*, the Scandinavianized form of Gael. *airidh* 'an outlying pasture', etc. (see further Introd., Ch. IV, under Lanc. and Wm).]

Liderlant, *Literland* Lanc. DoB.; *Liderlant* c. 1124 Lanc. Inq.; *Litherlanda* 1176 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Liderlanda* 1176—77 Pipe R.; *Lithirlond, Litherlonde* 1200—46 Cockersand Ch.; *Litherlande* 1202 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Litherlond* 1256 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1388 Lanc. inq.; *Litherland* T.N., 1318 Scarisbrick ch., 1324 Lanc. Inq.; *Uplytherlond* 1297 Lanc. Inq.; *Dounlitherlond* 1317, *Lythyrlond* 1384 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Lytherland* 1340 I.N.; *Vpelitherlonde, Up Litherlonde, Doun- litherlande* Lanc. Surv. 1320—46; *Lythirlond* 1322, *Uplitherlonde* 1324 Lanc. Inq.; *Dounelithirlond* 1392 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Down Lytherlond* 1369, *Uplitherlond* 1405 Scarisbr. ch.; *Lytherlond* 1322 f. Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1332 Lanc. Subs. R., 1434 Pat. R.; now Up Litherland (Aughton) and Down L. (in Sefton).

1st mem. was originally *hlíðar-*, gen. sing of O.W Scand. *hlið* f. (O.Swed. *lidh*, O.Dan. *li[d]):* a slope, hill- or mountainside. In ancient Norway we find exactly the same name: *Lidarland* D.N. 12 (1329) and *Lidharland* ibid. (1427).[2] On the A.N. mode of rendering intervocalic *ð* by *d*, *t* see Zachrisson, p. 115. — The natural aspect of the locality is in keeping with this etymology. Cf. in Vict. Hist. Lanc. III, p. 284 f.: 'The north-western slope of the hill is properly Litherland, formerly a separate manor'.

Lundertorp, *Lundetorp* Li. DoB.; *Lundthorpe* 1150—60, *Lundertorp* t. Hen. II. Br.Mus.; *Lundirtorp* 1189 Rot. Cur.; *Lindertorpe* c. 1200 Liber rub.; *Lundrethorp* 1200—01, *Lundethorp* 1232 Li. rec.; *Lundthorp* 1227 Ch. R.; *Lundeltorp* Rot. Hug., T.N.; *Lunderthorp* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., Rot H., 1286, 1303 Rot. Orig., T.N., 1303 f., 1346 F.A., 1306 f. Pat. R., 1347, 1480 Cal. Inq.; *Lundalthorpe* 1333 Pat. R.; *Londerthorp* 1392 Pat. R.; now Londonthorpe.

[1] Cf. Scot. dial. *clet* 'a rock or cliff in the sea, broken off from the adjoining rocks on the shore' (E.D.D.).

[2] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *land* 'land, country' = O.E. *land*.

1st mem. is gen. sing., normally *lundar*, of O.W.Scand. *lundr* m. 'a grove'. O.Swed. *lunder*, O.Dan. *lund*. As to the spelling *Lundel-*, recorded twice, cf. what is said above under *Barkedale*. The same case of the word occurs in the O.Norw. *Lunderbœy* D.N. 5 (1346), *Lundarby* D.N. 2 (1474) and the Icelandic '*at Lvndar breckv*' La.; cf. O.Dan. *Lundby* LCD. — The name of Londonthorpe owes its present form to some popular association with London, which is clearly shown by the successive spellings *Londerthorp* 1392 (see above), *Londenthorp* 1695 (Camden), and *London Thorpe* 1726—31 (Cox, Magna Britannia).[1]

Lunderberge Li. 1199 Cal. Rot. Ch. Not identifiable.

1st mem. apparently as in prec. name, q. v.[2] Cf. the O. Norw. *Lundæbærghær* D.N. 4 (1359) < **Lundarbergar*, according to Rygh, N.G. II, p. 355.

[**Malmerbi** Yo. DoB.; *Melmerby* 1198 Fountains Mem. (l. 15th or 16th cent. MS.); *Malmerby* 1243 Ch. R.; *Melmorby* Kirkby, 1301 Yo. Subs., 1314 Pat. R., No. vill., 1319 Cl. R., 1327 f. Cal. Inq., 1353 Fount. Mem.; *Melmoreby, Mellemorby* 1353 Fount. Mem.; *Melmorby, Melmoreby* 1437 Cal. Inq.; *Melmerby* 1439—40, *Melmyrby* 1459 Ripon Mem.; now Melmerby.

1st mem. of very obscure origin. Perhaps it is a hypothetic gen. sing. **málmar* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[3] § 348, 2) of O.W. Scand. *málmr* m. in its ancient sense of 'sandy field or ground', in which the word seems to occur, according to Rygh (Indl. p. 67), in several Norw. place-names; moreover O.Swed. *malmber* is recorded in the same sense. Cf. Goth. *malma* 'sand', and O. E. *mealm* 'sand, chalk' (see Bosw. Toller). In the course of the 13th cent. the original 1st. mem. was exchanged for the Celtic pers. name *Melmor*, probably introduced into Yo. by Scandinavians

[1] The spelling quoted from Magna Brit. is given on the authority of Zachrisson (p. 144), since I have not had access to this work myself. Local pronunciation 'Lunnunthorp' (Hope). — O.W.Scand. *lundr*, etc., enters into a great number of M.E. compound place-names and often occurs uncompounded; it belongs chiefly to Li. and the Scand. counties south of Li. Further details will be given in Part. II. — 2nd mem. in *Lundertorp* as in *Barchertorp*, see above.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *berg* (O.Swed. *bærgh*, Dan. *bjerg*) 'a mountain, rock, elevated rocky ground'. O.E. *beorh*.

coming from N. W. England or Ireland.[1] It enters into the place-name *Melmerbi* Yo. DoB., etc., now Melmerby (nr. Coverham), and *Melmorby* Cumb. 1279 Wickwane's Reg., etc., now Melmerby.[2]

Malmerton (al. *Malucrton*) Derb. t. Hen. III. Br. Mus.; *Malmerton* t. Hen. III. or Edw. I., *Malmarton* 1303, 1345 Jeaye's Cat.; *Maumerton* 1481 Cal. Inq.; *Malmerton* 1690 Index vill.; now Mamerton (in Longford).

Etymology perhaps as in prec. name. Very doubtful.[3]]

Martrebi Yo. DoB.; *Martherby* Kirkby; *Matherby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., No. vill ; now Marderby.

1st mem. normally *marðar* gen. of O.W.Scand. *mǫrðr* 'a marten' (O.Swed. *marþer*, O.Dan. *mard;* cf. O.E. *mearþ)*, here evidently used as pers. name.[2] In the O.W.Scand literature *Mǫrðr* is recorded merely in this function (Fritzner); it was very common in Iceland as early as the 10th cent. (see Rygh, Pers. navne).[4] O.Dan. *Marth;* O.Swed. *Mardh* (Lundgren).

Romundrebi, *Romundebi* Yo. DoB.; *Romundeby* 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch., 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *Romundesby* 1282, *Romundeby, Romondeby* 1283, *Romundby, Romondby* 1291 Yo. inq.; *Reymundeby, Remundeby* Kirkby; *Romondby* 1316 No. vill.; *Romondeby* 1348 Cal. Inq.; *Romonby* 1398 Pat. R.; now Romanby.

According to the former spelling of DoB. the 1st mem. was originally gen. (in *-ar*) of the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Hrómundr* (La., etc.), earlier *Hróðmundr* (on the O.W.Scand. loss of *ð* before *m* in this name see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[3] § 282), as shown by the form of the name in O. Irish annals: *Ruadhmand*

[1] In a letter of Earl Gospatric of Northumberland, dating from the 2nd half of the 11th cent., we find a certain *Melmor* among some Cumbrian land-owners, mentioned there as living 'in Eadread's days' (not King Eadred of Wessex 946-55?). The letter is printed, with an introduction, in Scottish Hist. Review I (1904), p. 62 f.; cf. W. G. Collingwood in Saga-Book III p. 300 f.

[2] 2nd mem. as above in *Asmundrebi.*

[3] 2nd mem. as above in *Bernertone.*

[4] From the as yet unpublished materials for 'Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn' Dr. E. H. Lind has kindly allowed me to extract the following O.W.Scand. place-names which contain this name: *Mardargnupr* D. I. 2 (1318) f., *Mardareyr* D.I. 5 (1458), both in Iceland; perhaps also *Mardestadhom* D.N. 3 (1425), in Jämtland.

Ruamand (in Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh, see Whitley Stokes' list of 'Old Norse names in the Irish annals', printed in The Academy 1890, nr. 959).[1] Cf. the O.W.Scand. place-name *Romundar þvæit*, mentioned by Lind, q. v. O.Swed. *Romund*.

Rugartorp Yo. DoB.; *Rogerthorp* 1328 Yo. deeds, 1345 Br. Mus.; now Rogerthorpe (in Badsworth).

1st mem. appears primarily to have been *rúgar*, gen. of O.W.Scand. *rúgr* m. = O.E. *ryge*, N.E. rye (O.Swed. *rugher, rogher*, O.Dan. *rug*),[2] in process of time evidently supplanted by the Norman pers. name *Roger*, which name was, in the 13th cent., 'exceedingly common all over the country' (Bardsley). Cf. Ruthwaite under *þveit*, Ch. 2.

Scogerbud Yo. DoB.; *Scorburgh* 1304 f. Beverley Ch. A. B., 1320 f. Cl. R., 1335 f. Pat. R., 1367, 1413 Cal. Inq.; *Scorburgh, Schorburgh* 1314 C. Inq.; *Scoreburgh, Scoureburgh* No. vill.; *Skourburgh, Shourburgh* 1320, *Scoureburgh* 1323 f. Cl. R.; *Scourburgh, Skorburghe, Scorburgh* 1331 C. Inq.; *Scordeburgh* 1336 ibid.; *Scoreburgh* 1350 Pat. R., 1432 Cal. Inq.; *Scourbourgh* 1352 Pat. R.; now Scorbrough.

From O.W.Scand. *skógarbúð* 'a booth built in the wood', which compound is recorded in O.Norw. laws (see Fritzner and Vigf.). 1st mem. is gen. sing. of O.W.Scand. *skógr* m. (O. Swed. *skogher*, O.Dan. *skogh*) 'wood'.[3]

Stanger Cumb. 1322 Cal. Inq., 1323 Cl. R.; *Stangra* 1550 Cal. Plead.; now Stangrah.

As may be seen from the earliest spelling on record, this name represents a normal form *stangir*, acc. (nom.) plur. of O. W.Scand. *stǫng*, fem. *i*-stem, 'a pole, stake'. O.Swed. *stang;*

[1] 2nd mem. as above in *Asmundrebi*.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Barchertorp*, see above.

[3] O. W. Scand. *skógr* etc. enters into not a few M. E. local names found in the northern counties, which will be given in Part II, under Scand. sk. — 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *búð* 'booth' (O.Dan. *both*, Swed. *bod*), in course of time replaced by M.E. *burh* 'fortified place, castle'. In the beginning of the 14th cent. the place was in the possession of the Hotham family. It seems that in post-Domesday times a castle was erected on the spot — the moat is still visible — which brought about the change in the 2nd mem. of the name. Cf. Skaife in Feod. mil. Eb., p. 259 n. and Holderness, Place-names of the E. Riding of Yo.

cf. O.E. *steng*, for which see MIDDENDORF. O.W.Scand. *stǫng* is frequently found in O.Norw. place-names, when uncompounded not seldom in plural, e g. *Stanger*, '*a Stangum*' E.J., etc.[1]

Stangrewath Wm. 1340 Pat. R.; now Stangerthwaite(?).

1st mem. probably *stangar*, gen. sing. of O.W.Scand. *stǫng*; see prec. name.[2] The word occurs in the same case in the O. Norw. place-names *Stangarholte* B.J.; cf. *Stanganæs* E.J. (< **Stangarnes*, see RYGH, N.G. III, p. 222) and *Stangaby* E.J. (RYGH, N.G. VI, p. 245).

Tingwella Lanc. 1176 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Tingwelle* 1210—12 Liber rub.; *Thingwell* 1226 f., 1298 Lanc. Inq.; *Thingwell, Thingwalacres* 1228 Cl. R.; *Thingwalle* 1212 Lanc. Inq., T. N.; *Thyngwall* 1322 f. Lanc. Inq.; *Thingewall* 1320—46 Lanc. Surv.; *Tyngwall* I.N.; now Thingwall.

This is an Anglo-Scandinavian parallel to the O. Icelandic *þing-vǫllr* (masc. *u*-stem) 'the parliament field, the place where a *þing* sat' (VIGF.). As to the earlier instances of the Lancashire name they all represent the dat. sing. case with *i*-mutated vowel. In this respect they agree with those forms of the Icelandic name that are recorded in La: '*a þingvelli*', '*vm þingvell*' (the latter spelling emendated to *-voll*).[3]

The same name occurs also in two other English counties, from which I can give only the following instances:

Tinguelle Chs. DoB.; *Thinghull* 1306 Pat. R.; now Thingwall;

Tingwal Yo. c. 1146 Whitby Ch. (Papal confirm.); *Thingwala* a. 1180 ibid.

[1] The word *stang* occurs in some English compound place-names, all of which are apparently of Scand. origin; they are confined to the northern counties (chiefly Wm., Lanc., Yo.). See further in Part II. — M.E. *stang* in Gaw. 1614, considered by BJÖRKMAN (Loan-words, p. 255) to be 'probably native', was no doubt borrowed from the Scandinavians, since no corresponding O.E. word is recorded and the evidence of the place-names favours such a supposition. Cf. E.D.D. *stang*.

[2] 2nd mem. originally O.W.Scand. *vað* 'a ford'. The place is situated on the river Lune, provided the identification above proposed is correct.

[3] Worthy of note is, besides, a similar O.Swed. place-name: '*ij Thingwallom*' (in the province of Vermland), quoted from a MS. of A. D. 1411 in STYFFE, p. 153.

The place cannot be identified but must be close to Whitby; see J. C. Atkinson in his Introduction to Whitby Ch., p. XXII f.[1]

Upelider Yo. DoB.; *Uplium*, *Uplyum* e. 12. cent. f., 13. c. Guisbrough Ch.; *Uplithom* 12. cent. ibid.; *Uppelyom* 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Uplium* a. 1180 f. Whitby Ch., 1182 Guisbr. Ch., 1204 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Uplion* 1206 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Uppelithum*, *Uplithom* 13. c. Guisbr. Ch.; *Uplithum* a. 1181, 1308 Whitby Ch., c. 1271 C. Inq., 1280 Ch. R., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1280 Cat. A.D., 1367 Cal. Inq.; *Lyum* 1257 f. Ch. R.; *Uplethum*, *Lethum*, *Lythum* Kirkby; *Uplythome* 1294 Yo. inq.; *Uplithom* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Lythum* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Oppelidun* 1312 Whitby Ch.; *Uplythum* 1314 C. Inq., 1315 Cl. R., 1321 Pat. R.; *Lithum* 1326 Pat. R., 1382 Cal. Inq.; now Upleatham.

The spelling of DoB. represents a normal O.W.Scand. form **Upp-hlíðir*, composed of 1) the adv. *upp* 'up, above, on high', 2) acc. (nom.) of *hlíð* f. 'a slope, hill- or mountain-side' (O.E. *hliþ;* cf. further above, under *Liderlant*). DoB. alone has preserved this form; all the subsequent instances on record show the dat. plur. in *-um*, out of which the present spelling has developed, the substitution of the more familiar English place-name terminal -ham being the erroneous result of a reconstructive tendency on the part of some scribes or public officials. This substitution appears to be of comparatively recent date; even Camden (1695) has *Vplethum.*[2] — O.W.Scand. *hlíð* was

[1] For further details about this highly interesting name, of which additional instances are to be found in Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the Shetland and Orkney Islands, I content myself with referring the reader to Johnston, Place-names of Scotland[2], Introd. p. LXXIII f.; Moore, Manx Names[2], p. 188 f.; Jakobsen, Shetlandsøernes Stednavne, p. 173 f.; J. C. Atkinson in Cartularium Prior. de Gyseburne II, p. 291 n., Steenstrup, Normannerne IV, p. 179 with references, and A. C. Nicholson in Saga-Book II, p. 267.

[2] The usual local pronunciation of Upleatham is [ɐplĭ·ðəm] as the Rev. R. Roberts, Vicar of U., kindly informs me. The current South Engl. pronunciation with a stop [t] instead of the etymological spirant [ð] is a mere spelling pronunciation. Zachrisson, in 'A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names', p. 142, thinks *-er* in the *Upelider* of DoB. to stand for an earlier *en* < *an* < *ham*, which development he ascribes to the influence of Anglo-Norman sound-laws. But the above-quoted successive forms, several of which occur in records whose places of origin were closely connected

of frequent use in O.Norw. place-names; it often occurs uncompounded, e. g. '*i Lidom*' D.N. 5 (1393), written *Lyder* ibd. 1 (1442); *Lider* ibd. 2 (1461); on *Hlíðir, Líðum* recorded as the name of a hundred see Rygh, N.G. V., p. 307.

Wallerthwayt Yo., see under Scand. *þveit*, Ch. 2.

[**Westcoterby** Cumb. 1325 Cal. Inq; now lost on the map. Under the presumption that we are not concerned here merely with an erroneous spelling of the copyist, the following conjecture may be offered by way of an explanation. The original form was perhaps **Westkotar*, the 2nd mem. being the O.W. Scand. fem. plur. *kotar*, which belonged to *kot* n. 'a cottage, small farm' (O.E. *cot, cote* with about the same meaning, cf. Skeat, Concise Etym. Dict.) In O.Norw. records there are not a few instances of the word being used as a place-name, e. g. *Kotar* E.J. (cf. Rygh, N.G. I, 362), '*j Kotum*' D.N. 8 (1378), *Kotarud* E.J. In Scand. England the word is not infrequently found in place-names, though in most cases it cannot be distinguished from its native equivalent. Thus we meet with *Ostcotun* Yo. 1179-80 Pipe R. (see further below, in Ch. 4); *Estcote*, 1208, and *Westkota*, 1251, Br.Mus. both in North.; *Cotom, North couton* Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem., and many others; see further the Indexes of F.A. and Br.Mus. The last element, Scand *by*, was possibly appended at a relatively late date, when the original form and meaning of the compound was no longer intelligible, at any rate to the scribe.]

Wikerthorp Yo. 1237 Gray's Reg. Cannot be identified. Judging by the spelling the 1st mem. seems to be gen. sing. (normally *víkr*) of O.W.Scand. *vík* f. 'a small creek, inlet, bay'. O.Swed. *vik*, O.Dan. *viig*.[1] An analogous formation is the O. Norw. place-name '*a Wikærbœ*' D.N. 13 (1344).

Wymundergil Yo. 1267-76 N. Reg. (Decan. de Richemund). Site unknown.

with Upleatham in the Middle Ages, unambiguously point to a different explanation. The one given above corresponds well with the site of the locality. Directly to the west of U. we find the parish of Kirkleatham (written *Westlidun, Westlide, Westlid* DoB.; *Lyum* 12th, 13th cents., *Lithum* 13th c. Guisbrough Ch.; *Kirklythum* 1352 Cal. Inq., etc.), which name contains the same subst.

[1] 2nd mem. as in *Barchertorp*, see above.

1st mem. is the genitive case, normally **Vígmundar*, of a man's name, O.W Scand. **Vígmundr* (see Rygh, Personnavne), O.Swed. *VikmuntR, Vihmuntr*, gen. *Vihmuntar* on Runic stones in the province of Uppland, see Liljegren, Run-Urkunder 292, 499.[1] The final *g* in *Wig-* can have been lost sporadically according to the sound-law, given, with some hesitation, by Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 283,3, or through the influence of the native O.E. *Wigmund, Wimund* DoB., etc.; cf. in Searle the other compounds beginning with *Wig-*.

Ch. 2. Names containing O.W.Scand. ei (O.E.Scand. ē).

The different development Teut. *ai* underwent in O.E. and O.Scand. constitutes one of the chief divergences of the two languages. In the former the diphthong was contracted into *ā;* in the latter it was modified into *ei, æi* on W.Scand. territory, while in O.E.Scand. it was generally monophthongized into a close *ē*-sound. Thus O.Scand. *ei, ē* as opposed to O.E. *ā* (M.E. *ǭ*) in words of the same origin is, as a rule, a very trustworthy criterion of loan, when appearing in O.E. and M.E. words. Further details are discussed by Björkman, Loan-words, p. 36 f., Provenienz, p. 11 f, and need not be recapitulated here.

A very great number of M.E. place-names show the O.W. Scand. diphthong, written in various ways: *ei* (*ey*), *ai* (*ay*); on the Anglo-French sporadic rendering of *ei* by *oi* in DoB. see below under Faceby. Of the O.E.Scand. monophthongization into *ē* instances are found in the place-names, but they are few and far between. Most of them belong to the counties of Li., Le. and Norf. It is surprising that only such insignificant traces of this sound-transition should have been left, not only in the proper names, but also in the general stock of Scand. loan-words found in M.E. literature. For it should be borne in mind that in O.Dan. the contraction into *e* had taken place in pre-literary times, before 1050; in O. Swed. it seems to have been in progress at the same date, though it was probably not complete until two centuries later. Now the Danish influence in England from a political and social point of view culminated during the

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *gil* 'a cleft, fissure, narrow valley or glen'. M.E. *gill*, see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 153.

earlier half of the 11th cent. Add to this that the commercial intercourse between the two peoples attained considerable proportions in this century and in the next, and it might be inferred that during the same period many Danish words found their way into the English language. Among them instances of the sound-change under notice were probably far from rare. The fact that, in spite of such circumstances, only a few instances of this kind are traceable in M.E. has been accounted for by assuming that the diphthong had not been contracted at the time when the words were adopted into M.E. See Björkman, Loan-words, p. 37. But if the chronological limits pointed out above are to be taken into account, this explanation can hardly hold good in the case of all the borrowings after the millennium. I think the all but invariable preservation of the diphthong is due, to some extent, to the archaic tendencies of the dialect which was spoken in Scand. England, and whose conservative character manifests itself in several directions. Supposing that, in the 11th cent. and later, some isolated words containing the monophthongized sound were incidentally introduced into the language of those parts, they would naturally be liable soon to be altered into conformity with the corresponding or allied words that were in current use, whether in the almost purely Scand. dialect of certain districts or in the more or less anglicized language of others.

The following place-name material falls under the heading of this chapter:

Algereby Li. 1231 Li. rec.; *Algerkyrk*, *Algerker* c. 1279 C. Inq.; *Algerkirk* 1281 f. Cal. Inq., 1316 Ch. R., 1317 f. Pat. R.; *Algerkyrk* Tax. eccl.; *Algerkirke* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1316 F.A., 1391 f. Cal. Inq.; *Dalgerkirke* 1341 Br.Mus.; *Algarkirk* 1331 Pat. R., 1346 F.A., 1394 f. Cal. Inq.; *Algerkyrke* t. Edw. III., see Hosp. Innocentium, Mon. VI,2; 1380 f. Br.Mus., 1494 C. Inq.; now Algarkirk.[1]

[1] To the above M.E. instances of the name may be added the forms *Algarkirke*, *Algarkirk*, *Algarkyrke* in the so-called Ingulf's Hist. Croylandensis, where they occur in some spurious charters, which pretend to date from the time 833—68. For further details about this record see Appendix A. — In its earliest reliable form on record this place-name exhibits as 2nd mem. Scand *-by* (see *Asmundrebi*, p. 3), later on superseded by the Anglo-Scand. equivalent of O.Scand. *kyrkia* 'church'. The *k*'s of *Algerkyrk* etc. are distinctly Scand., seeing that the place belongs to a Scand. district far south of the 'palatalisation-limit'.

1st mem. is most likely the O.Dan. man's name *Alger* (O. W.Scand. *Álfgeirr*). It appears under the Latinized form of *Algerus* in DoB. (Norf. Suff. Ess.). O.E. *Ælfgar*. In the DoB. of Lincolnshire, there occurs a place designation (*in*) *Alfgare*, which may possibly be identical with the present Algarkirk. See further Appendix A. If this be so, the subsequent spellings *Algereby* and *Algerkyrk* represent Scandinavianized forms of an originally native name. — On *Alger* cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 2.

Algerthorp Nott. 1292 A. Plac., 1329 Cal. Inq.; *Algarthorp* 1302 Derb. fines; *Algorthorp* date unknown Cat.A.D. I.

This name seems to have vanished from the modern map, but Camden (1695) gives *Algerthorp* nr. Radford. 1st mem., as it seems, originally as in preceding name, the Scand. form being in the course of time supplanted by the native one.[1] Cf. the Dan. place-name *Algestorp*, quoted by Nielsen, and the O.Norw. *Algœirs þorp* E.J.

Alfgerridding Yo. 12th cent. Drax ch. Mon. VI, 1., the name of a plot of land in the neighbourhood of Drax or Airmin. 1st mem. as in preceding names.[2]

Algerhage (*'nemus'*) Li. 1189 Vaudey ch. Mon. V. Probably near Edenham, South Li. The name appears in the midst of a markedly Scand. local nomenclature. 1st mem. as in preceding names.[3]

Alurestain, *Alurestan*, *Aluestune* Yo. DoB.; *Alvestain* 12th cent. f. Rievaulx Ch.; *Aluestein, -stain* 1166-67 Pipe R.; *Alvestein* 1160, 1332 Riev. Ch., 1233 Cl. R.; *Alverstain* a. 1180, *Alverstane* 13th c. Whitby Ch.; *Alvestaine [bec]* 1201 Rot. Ch.; *Alvesteyn* 1226 Bracton, 1228 Riev. Ch.; *Alverstein* 1247 Cl. R.; *Alvistein* 1267 Giffard's Reg.; *Allverstayn*, *Alvestyn* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Alverstain*, *-stan* Rot.H.; *Allerstane* Kirkby (late MS.); *Alistan* No. vill.; *Alverstan* 1327 Cal. Inq.; now. Allerston.

2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *steinn* (O.E.Scand. *stēn*) 'a stone, rock' (O.E. *stān*). What this word referred to in the case of

[1] 2nd mem. as in *Barchertorp*, p. 5.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.E. *hryding* f. 'a clearing, patch of cleared land' (Bosw. Toller); cf. N.E. dial. *riding, ridding* with the same meaning.

[3] 2nd mem. can be O.E.Scand. *haghi* 'enclosure, (enclosed) pasture-ground', O.W.Scand. *hagi* 'a hedged field, pasture', or M.E. *haȝe, hawe* (O.E. *haȝa*) 'hedge, enclosure, meadow'.

the present name cannot be ascertained. Cf. under the names compounded with *Stein-* which are treated below.[1]

Erengermeles Lanc. DoB.; *Argeremelis* 1213-19 Cockers. Ch., 1242-43 Lanc. Inq.; *Algermeles* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Argarmel* 1248 C. Inq.; *Argarmeles* 1254 C. Inq., 1249, 1311-12 Lanc. Inq.; 1346 F.A., 1361 Cal. Inq., 1472 f. Lanc. inq.; *Arkmell* 1330 Lanc. Inq.; mod. Argarmeols ('a township partly lost in the sea and partly involved in Birkdale'. Vict. Hist. Lanc. I, p. 284).

Explained by Harrison (p. 62) from O.W.Scand. *eyrr* 'gravelbank' + *engiar* 'meadows' + *melr* 'sand-hill, -bank'. This derivation of the 1st mem. is inadmissible for formal reasons, — first of all because the diphthong *ey*, if occurring in a syllable which had the main stress, would undoubtedly have been reflected in the spellings of post-Domesday local records. I am inclined to agree with Sephton (Notes on the South Lanc. place-names in DoB., p. 71) and to regard 1st mem. as O.W.Scand. *Arngeirr* (O. Swed. **Arnger, Anger;* O.Dan. *Arngerus, Argerus*), a pers. name, although even this explanation is not altogether satisfactory. Among the persons holding land in Yo. in the reign of Edward the Confessor, DoB. mentions a certain *Arnenger,* which name is evidently identical with *Arngeirr,* etc. The spelling *Eren-* in the place-name seems to be due to association with pers. names beginning with this phonem, such as *Erenbeald*, *Erenburg* DoB., *Erembald* 1158 Cumb. Pipe R. V.H., etc.[2]

Arnestein Wm. 1196 Feet of fines. Not identifiable (in Fawcett Forest, nr. Selside). 2nd mem. as above in *Alurestain*, q. v.[3]

[1] The etymology of the 1st mem. is hard to decide in view of the early interchange of spellings with and without the *r*-symbol. Perhaps from the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Qlvir* (Rygh, Personnavne), O.Swed. *Alver*, O.Dan. *Alwær;* or the pers. name *Álfarr* (Lind).

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *melr*, as rightly suggested by Harrison. On the natural aspect of Birkdale may be quoted the following extract from the Vict. Hist. Lanc. III, p. 236: 'The greater part of the area of this township . . . consists of a broad band of sand-hills, fringing the sea-coast and raising the surface of the land to some fifty feet above sea- level'. Adjoining Birkdale, in the north, we find the township of North Meols, in DoB. *Otegrimele, Otringemele,* which name presents the same word as 2nd mem.

[3] 1st mem. can be the common O.W.Scand. personal name *Árni* (O.Dan. *Arni*, O.Swed. *Arne*) or O.W.Scand. *qrn* (gen. *arnar*) 'eagle'.

Asgerebi Li. DoB.; 1229 Cl. R.; *Asgerbi* 1202 A.Plac., T. N.; *Asegerby* Rot.H.; *Asgerby* Tax. eccl., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1302 Cal. Inq., 1303 f. F.A., 1322 A.Plac., 1329 Cl. R.; *Askerby* 1303 Cal. Inq., 1332 Br.Mus.; *Asgarby* 1289 Br.Mus., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1298 A.Plac., I.N., 1383 Li. wills[1], 1428 F.A.; *Asgerbye* 1339 Cal. Inq.; *Asgardby* 1396, 1425 Cal. Inq., 1484 C. Inq.; now *Asgarby*.

1st mem. is the O.E.Scand. pers. name *Asger*, O.W.Scand. *Ásgeirr*.[1] Cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 13.

Asgarsthorp Norf. 1279 Cal. Inq.; *Asgasthorp*, *Asgazthorp* 1314 C. Inq.; *Asgersthorp* 1315 Cl. R.; *Thorp* 1346, 1401 F.A.; *Asgeresthorp* 1371 Cal. Inq.; now Algarsthorpe (in Great Melton).

1st mem. as in preceding name.[2] In the earliest spellings the original *ē* of the 2nd syllable has been anglicized to *a*.

Asgereshill Norf. c. 1200(?) in Rye's list of field-names, Ped. fin. Norf. Not identifiable. 1st mem. as in preceding name.[3]

Bakestanbrec Yo. c. 1200(?), *Bakestaynbrek*, *Bacstainbrec* 13th cent., *Blakestaynbrek* e. 14th cent. Guisbr. Ch. Nr. Guisbrough.

The latter part of the name can represent an O.W.Scand. compound **stæin-brekka* 'a stony or rocky slope' (cf. the Scottish place-name Staonibrig, which is derived from this word by Henderson, The Norse influence on Celtic Scotland, p. 354).[4] But formally it is equally plausible that O.W.Scand. *brekka* 'slope' constitutes the 2nd mem., and that the 1st was originally a M.E. man's name **Bahstan* < O.E. *Beahstan*, *Beagstan* (Searle), which here appears in a Scandinavianized form. The name, which has been explained from O.E. *bēag* 'armilla' (Müller, Palæstra IX), is recorded in the field-name *Bachestaneswang* Rutl. 1163—81 Ch. R. III (inspex. 1316), in Casterton Bridge.[5]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in *Asmundrebi*, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Barchertorp*, p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *hül*, *hil* (O.E. *hyll*) 'hill'.

[4] It may be added that this explanation leaves the exact signification of the 1st mem. somewhat obscure. Perhaps it is O.W.Scand. *bakki* 'bank, ridge, eminence'; or it may be O.W.Scand. *bak* 'tergum' (= O.E. *bæc*), possibly used here to intimate that the slope under notice formed the back or farther side of an eminence, etc., in relation to some more conspicuous place in the neighbourhood. Worthy of attention is, besides, the fact that this word is found in some Norw. place-names of a similar kind, in which Rygh assumes it to indicate that the slope is 'turned from the sun'. See e. g. N.G. V, 85.

[5] In this connection should be mentioned the name *Bakestaineforde*, *Bakestaneforde* c. 1200 Guisbr. Ch. (nr. Kirk Levington), the 1st mem. of which might be looked upon in the same light.

Bainwitlith Yo. l. 12th or e. 13th cent., *Bainwithlithe*. 1223 Guisbrough Ch.; now Beanley Bank (nr. Danby).

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *bein-viðr* 'the Common Holly', Ilex Aquifolium.[1] The former part of this word is O.W.Scand. *bein* 'bone'. Norw. dial. *beinvid;* cf. O.Swed. *benwidh* (see FRIES, Svenska Växtnamn, Ark. för Botanik, Band 3), Swed. dial. *benved*, used of several species of bushes (cf. Svenska Akad. Ordbok), Dan. *benved*.

Beiskebrec Lanc. 1227—33, 1225—35 Cockers. Ch. (Nr. Stodday ?).

1st mem. is apparently O.W.Scand. *beiskr* 'bitter, harsh' (O.Swed. *besker*, e. Dan. *besk*); in which sense it was applied here is very uncertain.[2] The word is recorded in M.E. as *beȝȝsk, baiske* (see BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 40), in N.E. dial. (Sc.. Cumb.) as *bask* 1) of fruit: sharp, bitter, rough to the taste 2) of weather: very dry. It is at least open to surmise that in the present name *beiskr* was employed to denote the dry, arid, barren soil which may have characterized the spot. On the other hand nothing forbids the alternative conjecture that we are here concerned with the adjective used in the gen. masc. case of the weak declension and as the surname of a person. Cf. F. JÓNSSON, Tilnavne, p. 259. No similar O.Scand. place-name seems to be known that might give us any guidance. On the derivation of the word see TAMM, Etym. Ordbok (Swed. *besk*); cf. KLUGE, Nominale Stammbildungslehre § 209.

In the same sense *beiskr* seems, moreover, to enter into the cultivation name *Beskerode* Yo. 1332 Pat. R. (in Thornes nr. Wakefield).[3] The monophthongization of the diphthong *ei* in this case can be explained according to NOREEN, Altisl. Gr. § 123, or by assuming O.E.Scand. influence.

Baitland Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq. (in Bolton le Sands).

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *beit* f. 'pasturage, grazing'.[4] O.Swed. *bēt*, Dan. *bed*. On M.E. *baite* 'bait, food', adopted from Scand., see BJÖRK-

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[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *hlíð* 'slope, mountain-side'. — To the Rev. G. Bird, of Danby Grosmont, I am indebted in no small degree for some valuable information about the natural features of the place in question, of which he writes inter alia: 'The holly is very common in this locality. There is a wood composed almost entirely of hollies. There is a farm called Holly Lodge and another Hollin Top. Consequently I should say you are correct in your supposition'.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *brekka* 'slope, hill-side'.

[3] 2nd mem. can. be M.E. *rod*, *rode* (O.E. *rōd*) 'a superficial measure of land, etc. (see further N.E.D.), a plot of land of this size'; or possibly O.W.Scand. *ruð* 'a clearing, open space in a forest'.

[4] 2nd mem. O.W. Scand. *land* 'land'. Cf. the compound *beitarland* 'a pasture land', given by VIGF. — I have no means of ascertaining whether this locality is identical with *Baitland* l. 13th cent. Richmond Reg., which, however, seems to be the case.

MAN, Loan-words, p. 41. Cf. N.E. dial. *bait* 'food, a meal; for men and horses', etc. *Beit* is found in some O.Norw. place-names, among which may be mentioned '*J Bœitanese*', '*J Bœithagha*' E.J.

Another interesting instance of the word is preserved in a Nottingham record, where we find a place defined as '*pasturam vocatam le Beith*' 1416 Nott. rec.

Baitingstid Wm. 1293 Inspex., see Hosp. of St. Leonard, York, Mon. VI,2. In Kendal.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *beiting* f. 'grazing'. Norw. dial. *beiting*.[1]

Blaichestun Durh. 1093(?), *Blaikestun*, *Bleichestonam*, *Blecestunam* t. Hen. I., *Blechestona* t. Hen. II., *Blecheston'* 1203 FPD.; *Blaikeston* 13. cent. Brinkburn Ch.; *Blekestone* 1203 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Blaykeston* 1389 Pat. R.; *Blaxston* 1430, *Blakeston* 1464 FPD.; now Blakeston.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. adj. *bleikr* 'pale, white' (O.Swed. *blēker*, Dan. *bleg*; O.E. *blāc*), in this case obviously applied as surname to a settler on the spot.[2] It may be pointed out here, in passing, that a person called *Alanus Bleik* appears in the Coucher book of Selby abbey (13th cent.?). The forms *bleikr*, *[hinn] bleiki* are recorded, again as surnames, on O.W.Scand. territory, see the instances adduced by KAHLE, Die altwestnord. Beinamen, Ark. XXVI, p. 170; F. JÓNSSON, Tilnavne, p. 209. The same word seems to occur in the O.W.Scand. place-names *Bleiksmyrardal* D.I. 3 (1403), etc.; '*J Blœikastadhom*' E.J. (cf. RYGH, N.G. II, 339). Moreover, in O.Swed. we find *Blecher* as a man's name (LUNDGREN); it enters into the O.Swed. place-name *Bleekstorp*, see NORRBY, Ydre härads gårdnamn, p. 87.

Bleikestrete Yo. a. 1180, *Blaicastret* 12th cent. Whitby Ch.; *Blakestret* 1275 St. Peter doc. Mon. VI,3; *Blaykestrete* e. 15th cent. Reg. Hosp. St. Leonardi Ebor. Mon. VI,2; now Blake Street (in the city of York; cf. the plan of York in BAEDEKER's Great Britain, 6th ed., Leipzig 1906).

1st mem. O.W.Scand. *bleikr*, see preceding name. It is not quite clear to which distinguishing feature of the road or street this word referred; it may have been to the colour of the ground[3]. Cf. what is said on the next name. The form of the adj. can also represent the masc. gen. sing. of the weak declension, the word then being used here as a surname.

[1] 2nd mem. M.E. *stede* (O.E. *stede*, *styde*) 'stead, place'.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Bernertone*, p. 7.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *strēte* (O.E. *strǣt*) 'road, street'.

Blaykethwayt Cumb. 1349 Rot. Orig., etc., see under Scand. *þveit* at the end of this chapter.

Braiþatun Yo. e. 11th cent. List of Ælfric's festermen; *Breiton*, *Bretone* DoB.; *Breitune* 1189, *Brayton* 1292 Selby ch. Mon. III; *Bretton* T.N.; *Braton* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Brauton* No. vill.; *Brayton* t. Edw. I. f. Plac. Warr., 1334 Pat. R., 1471, 1479 Cal. Inq.; now Brayton.

1st mem. O.W.Scand. *breiðr* (O.Swed. *breþer*, Dan. *bred;* O.E. *brād*) 'broad'.[1] This adjective is also recorded in the following M.E. place-names:

Braithlau Wm. 1282 Cal. Inq.; *Brathlaw* 1283 Lanc. Inq.; *Braithlagh* 1323, *Brathlaghe* 1344, 1348 Cal. Inq.; *Brathelagh* 1345, 1349 Cl. R.; *Brathelay* 1380, *Brathelaye* 1404 Cal. Inq.; now Braithlaw (nr. Kendal) according to the Editor of Lanc. Inq.[2]

Braythestanes Cumb. 1294, *Breithstanes* 1300 Cl. R.; now Braystones (par of St. Bees).[3]

Breietoft, *Breioft* Li. DoB.; *Breitoft* Surv. 1118; *Braitoft* 1170-71 Pipe R.; *Breintoft*, *Braytoft* 1222 Bracton; *Braitoft* 1256 f. Brit. Mus., T.N.; *Braytoft* 1281 Cal. Inq., Rot. H., T.N., Tax. eccl.; *Braytofte* 1296, 1383 Cal. Inq.; *Braystoft* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Bretoft*, *Breythoft*, *Braytoft* 1303 F.A.; *Braitofte* 1307 f. Cal. Inq.; *Breitofte* 1316 Cal. Inq.; *Braytoft* 1303 f. Cal. Inq., 1314 Ch. R., 1333 f., 1400 Pat. R., 1346, 1428, 1431 F.A., 1422, 1475 Cal. Inq., 1494 C. Inq.; now Bratoft.[4]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in *Bernertone* p. 7. Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *Brœidabø* E.J., properly 'the broad farm'.

[2] As I have not been able to identify the place myself, I cannot suggest any satisfactory explanation of the 2nd mem. Judging by the spellings it can be M.E. *laȝe*, *ley* (O.E. *laȝu*, see N.E.D.) 'a pool, lake', or the O.W.Scand. equivalent *lǫgr:* 1) water, any liquid 2) a watercourse, lake, river, etc. Also M.E. *lau*, for which see under *Asemunderlawe*, p. 4, should be taken into consideration.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *stān* 'stone', probably substituted for O.W.Scand. *steinn.* Cf. the O.Norw. place-name '*j Brœidæsteini*' E.J.

[4] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *tóft* 'a piece of ground, messuage, homestead'; O.Dan. *toft*, O.Swed. *tomt.* For additional details concerning this word see Ch. 7.

Braythawayt Cumb. 1317 Pat. R., etc., see under Scand. *þveit*, at the end of this chapter.

Braythwath Yo. 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Bracwharth* (!) No. vill. (the orthography is very corrupt in this part of the record); now Brawith (par. of Leake).[1]

Bradeuuelle Yo. DoB.; *Braithwell* 1232 Ch. R.; *Braythwell* 1260 Yo. inq., 1287 A. Plac., Tax. eccl.; *Braythewell* Tax. eccl., 1297 Yo. Subs.; *Braidewell* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus; *Breythewelle* 1311 Pat. R.; *Braithewelle* 1316 f. Pat. R., 1316 f. Cl. R., 1327 C. Inq.; *Braithwell* 1338 Roche ch.; *Braythewell* No. vill., 1319 f., 1383 Pat. R., I.N., 1323 f., 1459 Cal. Inq.; *Braichewell*[2] 1326 Rot. Orig.; *Bratthewell* 1326 Pat. R.; *Braywell* 1336 Pat. R., Rot. Orig.; *Braythewel* 1345 Cal. Inq.; *Braythwell* 1393 Pat. R., *Brathewell* 1396, 1469 Pat. R.; *Braiwell* 1415 Br.Mus., Cal. Inq.; now Braithwell.[3]

Brayza Lanc. t. Hen. II. Furness Ch.; *Braitha* 1196 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now the River Brathay in North Lanc., along the boundary of Westmoreland.[4]

Breitheflet, *Braythefleyt, Breikefleit, Bradeflet, Bredfled* Yo. 13th cent. Guisbr. Ch. Nr. Kirkleatham.[5]

Braitheford, *Braideford* (*'aqua'*) Li. t. Edw. I. Rot. H. Not identifiable. Nr. Tattershall?[6]

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *vað*, O.Swed. *vaþ*, O.Dan. *vath* 'a ford'. The place is situated on the Cod Beck, a tributary of the Swale. Cf. N.E. dial. *wath* with the same meaning; the word occurs only in the Scand. counties of Northern England (see E.D.D.) and is apparently Scand. loan.

[2] *ch* obviously miswritten for *th*, the *t* and *c* being much alike in the handwriting of the MS.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *welle* 'a spring, fount'; N.E. well.

[4] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *á* (O.E. *ēa*) 'a stream' (cf. Aby. Ch. 5). The name is identical in form with the Icelandic river-name *Breiðá* (*Breid a* La.); several other instances exist in Norway, see Rygh, Elvenavne, p. 22.

[5] 2nd mem. M.E. *flēot* 'a place where water flows; an arm of the sea, a creek, inlet, run of water'.

[6] 2nd mem. M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford. Cf. *Braythwath*.

Braithekeld Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb. A spring nr. Hutton Conyers.[1]

Breitheland Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.[2]

Braithland Li. 1281 Cal. Inq.; *Braythelond* 1287 C. Inq.; *Braylond* 1425 Cal. Inq. Now lost? Seems to have been nr. Broughton on Brant, or Leadenham.[2]

Braythemere Yo. 1330, *Braithmere* 1342, *Braythemer* 1348 Pat. R. Not identifiable. Probably on Hatfield Moor (W.R.).[3]

Braythemyre Cumb. etc., see under O.W.Scand. *mýrr*, Ch. 6.[4]

Breizbi, *Brezbi* Li. DoB.; *Brancebi* 1207, 1234, *Breiceby* 1231 Li. rec.; *Breyceby*, *Brayceby* t. Edw. I. Rot. H.; *Braceby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Breitebi* T.N.; *Bryceby* 1303, *Brayceby* 1316, 1346 F.A.; *Braceby* 1391 Cal. Inq.; now Braceby.

1st mem. is the gen. case of the O.W.Scand. personal name *Breiðr*, recorded as early as the 10th cent. (see Lind). O.Dan. *Breth*, O.Swed. *Bredh*.

In the DoB. spellings of this name the A.N. graphical symbol *z* is employed to render the sound combination [ts] (on the O.W.Scand. transition *ðs* > *ts* cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 230, 2 d); other DoB. instances of this mode of spelling, which is not

[1] 2nd mem. M.E. *keld* (in place-names), N.E. dial. *keld*, *kell* (Nhb. Cumb. Yo. Lanc.) 'a fountain, spring', most probably from O.W.Scand. *kelda* (O.Swed. *kälda*, O.Dan. *kyældæ*) with the same meaning. Frequent in North Engl. place-names.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Liderlant*, p. 12.

[3] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *mere* 'a sheet of standing water; a lake, pond; marsh, fen, an arm of the sea'. N.E. dial. *mere*.

[4] It is possible that O.W.Scand. *breiðr* also enters into the name *Breidegate* Lanc. 1208 Lanc. Fin. Conc. (nr. Cartmel) 'the broad road' (O.W.Scand. *gata* 'road'). If so, the *d* was probably introduced from the native *brād* 'broad'. — The present name Bradley Ash Derb., which is of native origin, appears in DoB. as *Bradelei*, *Bredelawe*, *Braidelei*. The diphthong *ai* of the last form seems to depend on Scand. influence. In the spelling *Bredelawe*, as well as the subsequent *Bredlowe* 1251 Ch. R., *Bredlawe* 1280 Pat. R., the *e*-vowel can be due to association with the corresponding subst., M.E. *brǣde*, *brēde* 'breadth'. Apart from these instances, forms with *a* seem to prevail.

mentioned by Stolze, are e. g, *Geruezbi* Yo. (< **Gervið-*), *Feizbi*, *Fezbi* Yo. (< **Feits-*), see further on in this Ch.; *Asgozbi* Yo. (< **Ásgauts-*, see in Ch. 4), *Branzbi* Yo. (< **Brants-* < **Brands-*), etc. In the subsequent records we find the symbol *c* (see above), which can have the same value [ts] or that of [s] < [ss]. Cf. Morsbach, M.E. Gram. § 16 Anm. 1. On the M.E. assimilation of *ts* > *ss* see Kluge in Paul's Gr., p. 1012.[1]

Bregestuna Norf. DoB.; *Breytheston* 1239 Cal. fin., Rot.H.; *Breycheston*, *Breideston* Rot.H.; *Breydeston* 1252 Ch. R., Rot. H., 1286 Cal. fin., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1302 f., 1401 F.A., 1422 Br.Mus.; *Breydistone* 1316 F.A.; *Breideston* 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Breydestone* 1346 Norf. Aid; *Braydeston* 1428 F.A.; *Breyston* 1483 Cat.A.D.; now Bradeston.

1st mem., in its original form, as in preceding name, but seems at an early period to have been partly anglicized, in so far as the stop [d] of the native equivalent (O.E. *brād* 'broad'; cf. *Brāda*, a man's name), was substituted for the Scand. spirant. On the other hand, this substitution might be due to A.N. influence (cf. Zachrisson p. 97 f.). On the loss of *ð* in the spelling of DoB. see Zachrisson, p. 90 f.[2]

Bruneskayth Cumb. 1253 P. Pipe R.; *Brunskayt* 1290 C. Inq.; *Brunschayt*, *Brumschayt* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Brunscayth* 1300 Cal. Inq.; *Brymscayth* 1302 Cl. R.; *Brunscaith* 1312 C. Inq.; *Brunstath* 1374 Test. Karl.; *Brunscathe* 1380, *Bronscath* 1417 Cal. Inq.; now Brunstock (nr. Carlisle).

2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *skeið*, recorded in several meanings, of which the following may be quoted from Fritzner: 1) a race-course 2) a portion, piece 3) a ridge of earth or sand that forms a natural transit from one place to another 4) a cart-road between the corn-fields of a farm. Which of these meanings

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. as in *Bernertone*, p. 7. A similar anglicized form of O.W.Scand. *Breiðr* occurs, perhaps, in the place-names *Breidesthorpe* Li. C.S. 22 (A.D. 664! see note to Osgodby Li. in Ch. 4), *Breidestorp* 1125-28 L. Niger S.P., now Birthorpe(?), and *Braidestune, -tone, Bradestone* Derb. DoB.; *Breideston* 1233-53 Jeaye's Cat., 1223, 1351 Pat. R.; 1300 Derb. fines, 1335 f. Cal. Inq., 1350 Cl. R.; *Breydiston* 1284-86 F.A., T.N.; *Breydeston* 1273 Derb. fines, T.N., 1428 F.A.; now Breaston.

should be assigned to *skeið* in the present case is uncertain.[1] For further particulars see below under Hesketh and [Wickham] Skeith.

Dailderhou, see above, p. 9.

O.W.Scand. **deill** in M.E. field-names.

In some M.E. records previous to the middle of the 14th cent., especially those dealing with grants of land and royal charters of confirmation, there occurs not a small number of field-names terminating in *-deil, -dail*, etc. The terminal is evidently identical with O.W.Scand. *deill* (O.Swed. *dēl*, e. Dan. *deel*) 'a share, allotment, portion of land'. But this word does not seem to have been much in use in O.W.Scand.; FRITZNER gives only one instance, D.N. 3 (1369). None are found among the Norwegian place-names included in the hitherto published volumes of RYGH, N.G. In 'Svenska Akademiens Ordbok', where some attention is devoted to the subject in connection with Swed. *del*, it is stated that the word, which seems to have been common to all Teutonic languages, apparently fell into disuse at an early period in O.Scand. It was probably superseded by the common O.W.Scand. *deild* (O.E.Scand. *deld*), originally a verbal abstract (< Teut. **dailiþō*) meaning a division (cf. OHG. *teilida* 'divisio', SCHADE), which word had developed the same sense; it enters into O.W.Scand. place-names and is also recorded on M.E. territory; see above p. 9. The modern Swed., Dan. word *del* is assumed to be a comparatively recent formation or a loan from MLG. (Cf. TAMM, Etym. Ordb.).

However that may be, it is clearly beyond all doubt that in the M.E. names under notice we are actually concerned with O.W.Scand. *deill*. In the aforesaid records the word occurs several times as appellative. Thus in a noteworthy and valuable confirmation of Edward III., which is preserved in the Chartulary of Rievaulx A.D. 1332, we come across a donation '*de una dailla prati . . . super moram de Leysthorpe*'. In this Latinized form the spelling with the double consonant may point directly to the corresponding sound of the Scand. word *deill* < **dailR* < **dailaz*, cf. NOREEN, Altisl. Gr. § 267. Other Latinized forms *daila, dayla* are recorded in the confirmation of the grants to the Abbey of Louth Park Li. 1314 Ch. R., further *daylam* 1291 Ch. R. II, 400, and *dailæ prati*' in a deed of grant and confirmation of c. 1285 Yo., see Whitby Ch. I, 114 n. It is a significant fact that all these instances occur in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire records, whereas in those

[1] If we may trust an old tradition, 1st mem. is (*le*) *Brun, de Brun*, the name of a family who were the possessors of several estates in North Cumberland near Carlisle and appear shortly after the Norman Conquest; see DENTON's Estates and families in the Co. of Cumberland. According to DENTON († 1617) 'Gamel the son of Brun' came into possession of Bothel in the time of Hen. I. (1100—35) and his 'posterity enjoyed the same in the issue male'. But D. makes no suggestion as to the relation of the family to Brunstock.

pertaining to other counties the native equivalent M.E. *dāl(e)* *dōl*, is alone to be found, e. g. *dalis* (plur.) Suff. 1270 Ch. R. II, 145, *dolam* Le. 1290 ibd., p. 381, etc.

The same holds good also of the field-names to be taken into consideration, which all belong to the most Scandinavian regions of Li. and Yo. As far as can be gathered from the context in which these names occur, they were as a rule designations of meadows or patches of meadow-land. Only *Mosedeile* and perhaps *Cornfendeile* seem to represent pieces of moor-land, probably turbaries (see below p. 33, n. 8,13); another exception is *Wandaile* (p. 35) q. v. Now in M.E. times the meadow-land of the community was divided into a number of scattered strips, which were distributed, by lot or by rotation, among the lord and his tenants, as in the pre-feudal period they had been apportioned in like manner to the different villagers. The *dayla*, *-deil*, etc., of our records may originally have been applied to such a strip, assigned to one household and corresponding to the *selion* of the arable land. But there are other cases which require a different explanation. When, e. g., we read about the grant of a '*daila*' of meadow in *Hemmyngdaila* (cf. below), the appellative in this and similar entries seems to refer to a single strip of land, but as the latter member of the name the same word must have signified either a compact plot of land, possibly owned in severalty, or a number of strips lying side by side and occupied by one householder. Such formations did exist in the case of the arable land, according to Vinogradoff, English Society in the 11th cent., p. 275, especially in Scand. counties; and it is a well-known fact that the treatment of the arable land was, in several respects, analogous to that of the meadow. Cf. the same author, Villainage in England, p. 259 f.

The nearest equivalent, on O.Scand. territory, of the Anglo-Scand. *deil* seems to have been O.Swed., O.Dan. *deld*, which was applied to a share of a common cultivated field (cf. Lund and Söderwall); it naturally cannot have been used in the case of the communal meadow-land, inasmuch as this seems to have remained undivided throughout the Middle Ages. Cf. Haff, Die dänischen Gemeinderechte II, p. 14 f. As to the question whether the corresponding O.W.Scand. *deild* was employed in a similar function, the material afforded by the dictionaries and other available authorities on the point is too scanty to allow of any definite conclusion. However, it might be mentioned in addition to what has been said on the word above that it enters into not a few field-names in Shetland in the sense of a portion of land (Jakobsen, p. 87), and in the dialect of the Faroes we find *deilur* 'portion', *deild* portion, spec. of land (Hammershaimb, Færøsk Anthologi). It would seem, therefore, that in the beginning of literary times in Scandinavia the word *deil*, in the sense specified above, was confined to Scand. England, where it owed its existence to the agrarian arrangements which had developed there on the basis of the open-field system. From this the conclusion is easily arrived at, viz. that the survival of O.Scand. *deill* on Anglo-Scandinavian territory was principally due to the existence and influence of the cognate native words above referred to. As for these the

O.E.language possessed 1) *dāl* (< **dailaz*) 'part, portion, division, allotment, dealing, dole' 2) *dæl* (< **dailiz*) 'a part or division of a whole'. The latter appears in M.E. as *del*, N.E. deal; in the sense of a portion or share of land it does not occur until the early Mod.E. period (1600). The former gives M.E. *dale* (North E.) 'a portion or share of land; spec. a share of a common field or portion of an undivided field indicated by landmarks but not divided off'; earliest quotation in N.E.D. c. 1241. Further we find M.E. *dal(e), dol* (South E.; N.E. dole) which meant, inter alia, 'a portion of a common or undivided field'; earliest quotation in N.E.D. 1523. Cf. the earlier reference given by me above. The exact range of meaning of these M.E. words has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated, but, if the general statements of N.E.D. are to be trusted, the remarks just given on Anglo-Scand. *deil* in this respect may be applicable to the native equivalents. This is borne out, to some extent, by the fact that the last-named words occur in many similar field-names from different parts of England; of particular interest are those contained in the Register of Crabhouse nunnery in Norfolk, where in the 15th cent. we meet with such instances as *Haraldchildredole, Reynerchildredale, Northdole, Belesdole, Seynt Edmundesdol,* etc.

O.W.Scand. *deill* is found in the following M.E. field-names:

Adeldayles[1] Li. 1291 Ch. R. II, 400; in Glentham.

Alumdayle[2] 1291 Ch. R. II, 393; in Stainton by Langworth.

Barndele[3] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.

Buledailes[4] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Huttoft.

Dalbidaila[5] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Huttoft.

Eskedayle[6] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Raventhorpe.

Fordeiles, Fordailes[7] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Alvingham.

Fredegestdayle, Fredgestdaile[8] ibd.; in Grimoldby.

Gosetunedaile[9] Li. 1189 Ch. R. III, 386 (inspex. 1318), *Goseton Daylle* 1301 Ch. R.; in Killingholme.

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[1] From M.E. *adel(e)* (O.E, *adela*) 'stinking urine, or other liquid filth; mire'. Or, perhaps rather, O.W.Scand. *aðal*: (1) nature disposition), 2) in compounds: chief, head-, e. g. *aðal-kelda* 'chief well, an excellent well'. Cf. the other compounds given by FRITZNER.

[2] From the pers. name *Alun* (SEARLE)? Very doubtful.

[3] Perhaps O.W.Scand. *barn* 'child', recorded as a surname in O.W.Scand. (see F. JÓNSSON, Tilnavne) and in DoB.; see further BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[4] M.E. *bule* < O.Dan. *bul* (O.W.Scand. *boli*) 'a bull'; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 286.

[5] From an obsolete Scand. place-name **Dalby?*

[6] O.W.Scand. *eski* 'ash-trees, ashen wood'.

[7] O.W.Scand. *for* 'a drain, ditch', or the prefix *for-* (O.E. *fore*) 'before, above'. Cf. *for-berg* 'a projecting rock'.

[8] O.E. *Friðugist*, a man's name. DoB. has the forms *Fredgist* Li., Yo., *Fregist* North.

[9] From a place-name **Gosetun,* of native origin.

Hemmyngdaila[1] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Grimoldby.
Hovedecdeil[2] Li. 12th cent. Cotun Reg. Mon. V; nr. Habrough?
Humberdaile[3] Yo. 13th cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Hessle.
Illedeile[4] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.
Kelsdail[5] Li. 1238 Li. rec.
Kerdaile[6] Li. 1268 Ch. R.; in Goxhill.
Kirnedaile[7] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Saltfleetby.
Cornfendeile[8] Li. 1218 Li. rec.; in Wainfleet Fen.
Crokdaila, Crockedayle[9] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Huttoft.
Langedayle[10] Yo. 13th cent., 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Stittenham.
Mickeldayle[11] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Saltfleetby.
Mikkledayle[11] Li. 1291 Ch. R. II; in Sudbrook.
Milnedeyle[12] Li. 1268 Ch. R. II; in Dunstall (Corringham).
Mosedeile[13] Li. 1218 Li. rec.; in Wainfleet Fen.
Musholmdeyle[14] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; nr. Huttoft.
Niwedeile[15] Yo. 1204 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Upleatham.

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[1] O.W.Scand. *Hemmingr, Hemingr,* O.Dan. *Heming, Hemming,* a man's name; see further Björkman, Personennamen.

[2] Very obscure. From O.Dan. *hovæth,* O.Swed. *hovuþ,* O.W.Scand. *hǫfuð* 'head'? Cf. F. Jónsson, Tilnavne, p. 192.

[3] The river Humber (M.E. *Humbre,*) near which the place is situated.

[4] Probably O.W.Scand. *illr* (O.Swed. *ilder,* e. Dan. *ild*) 'bad, worthless', here possibly used as a surname: *illi,* see Kahle, Awestnord. Beinamen, p. 187, and F. Jónsson, Tilnavne, p. 259.

[5] From the O.E.Scand. man's name *Kæl,* O.W.Scand. *Keld,* etc. < resp. O.Swed. *Kætil,* O.Dan. *Ketil,* O.W.Scand. *Ketill.* The monosyllabic forms are recorded in E.Scand. from the 14th, in W.Scand. from the 15th cent. onwards. In compounds, however, e. g. *þorkell, -kell* occurs as early as the 11th cent.; see Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 349,2.

[6] M.E. *ker* < O.W.Scand. *kiarr* 'copsewood, a marsh'.

[7] O.W.Scand. *kirna* (M.E. *kirne*) 'churn'. Cf. Björkman, Loan-words, p. 143.

[8] Perhaps from a proper name **Corn-fen* 'a fen or tract of low land where corn is grown'.

[9] M.E. *crok* 'crook, hook' < O.W.Scand. *krókr,* O.Swed. *kroker,* Dan. *krog.* Cf. Björkman, Loan-words, p. 248.

[10] O.W.Scand. *langr,* O.Swed. *langer,* O.Dan. *lang,* or M.E. *lang* 'long'.

[11] O.W.Scand. *mikill, mykill,* O.Swed. *mykil,* O.Dan. *mykœl;* or M.E. *mikel, muchel* 'great, large'.

[12] O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *mylna,* O.Dan. *mylnœ,* or M.E. *milne* (O.E. *myln*) 'mill.'

[13] O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *mosi* (O.Dan. *mosœ*) 'moss, moorland, bog' = M.E. *mos.*

[14] From an obsolete place-name **Musholm?*

[15] M.E. *nēwe, nīwe* (O.E. *nēowe, nīwe*) 'new'.

Northdayle[1] Li. 1249 (1268 inspex.) Ch. R.; in Upton nr. Gainsborough.

Nortwdedeile[2] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.

Nunnemandeyl[3] Li. 1301 Ch. R.; in Killingholme.

Reddeiles[4] Li. 1221 Li. rec.; in Leake.

Sanwandeiles[5] Yo. 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Wombleton.

Simundedeile[6] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Covenham.

Scortedeil[7] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.

Stokedaile[8] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; nr. Saltfleetby.

Surdeile[9] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.

Suthdeiles[10] Yo. 1332 Riev. Ch.; nr. Flotmanby.

Suthdayle[10] Li. 1249 (1268 inspex.) Ch. R.; in Upton nr. Gainsborough.

Thwerdeil[11] Li. 1238 Li. rec.

Waterelesdayle[12] Li. 1312 Ch. R.; in Grainthorpe.

Westdeile[13] Li. 1249 (1268 inspex.) Ch. R.; in Upton nr. Gainsborough.

Wisdomdeile[14] Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.

Withewelle daile[15] Li 1314 Ch. R.; nr. Kelstern.

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[1] O.W.Scand. *norðr,* O.Swed. *nordh,* etc., = M.E. *nord* 'north.'

[2] From an unrecorded place-name **Norð-wude* 'Northwood'.

[3] The same document alludes to a certain *Michael Nuneman* as possessing land in Killingholme. His surname constitutes the 1st mem. of the field-name under notice.

[4] ME. *rēd* (O.E. *rēad*) 'red', or *rēd* (O.E. *hrēod*) 'reed, reedbed'?

[5] Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *sandr,* O.Swed. *sander,* etc. = M.E. *sand* 'sand'; for the rest of the name see below, p. 35 n. 2.

[6] O.E. *Sigemund, Simund,* a man's name, or O.Dan. *Sigmundus, Simundus,* etc., see further BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen, p. 120.

[7] M.E. *schort* (O.E. *sceort*) 'short'.

[8] O.W.Scand. *stokkr,* O.Swed. *stokker,* O.Dan. *stok,* or M.E. *stoc* 'stock, trunk'.

[9] O.W.Scand. *súrr,* O.Swed. *sur* = M.E. *sūr* 'sour'. In Norw. dial. *sur* is sometimes used of soil: bitter, full of acrid liquid substances; moreover, in N.E. dial. we find sour 'of land: cold, wet, unfertile; boggy, swampy'. One of these meanings might be assigned to the word in the present case.

[10] O.W.Scand. *suðr,* O.Swed. *sudher,* e. Dan. *sud* = M.E. *sūð* 'south.'

[11] O.W.Scand. *þverr* adj. 'athwart, across, transverse'. O.Swed. *þvär,* O.Dan. *thwær.* Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *þuærdale* E.J.

[12] 1st mem. M.E. *water-lēs* < O.E. *wæter-lēas* 'without water, dry'.

[13] O.W.Scand. *vest-,* in compounds, = M.E. *west* 'west'.

[14] From M.E. *wisdōm,* or O.W.Scand. *vís-dómr* 'knowledge, intelligence, wisdom'?

[15] From a place-name *Withewelle,* probably of native origin. M.E. *wiði* 'withy, willow'.

Wrengledeiles[1] Li. 1221 Li. rec.; in Leake.
Wandailes[2] Yo. 12th cent. Whitby Ch.; nr. Middlesbrough.
Wendeiles[2] Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; nr. Driffield.
Wandayl, Wayndale[2] 1231 Guisbr. Ch.; in Coatham.
Wandale, Wayndayl[2] c. 1300 Guisbr. Ch.; in Rotsea.
Wandaile Yo. 1332[2] Riev. Ch.; in Allerston.

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[1] Seeing that only one instance of the name is recorded, I venture the following explanation with some reserve. 1st mem. may be O.W.Scand. **[w]rengla* (< Teut. **wrangilōn*) in the sense of 'a small space, or piece of ground, of a crooked shape'. Etymologically the same word would be the later Icel. *rengla* f. 'a crooked thin twig' (VIGF.). The word is apparently a denominative formation, from the same base as O.W.Scand. *rangr* 'crooked, not straight', O.Swed. *vranger,* O.Dan. *vrang,* allied to O.W.Scand. *rá* 'corner, nook' (see further in Ch. 5), and O.E. *wringan* (M.E. *wringe,* N.E. wring) 'to twist, squeeze out'; cf. FICK, Vergl. Wörterb. III, 416, BJÖRKMAN, Provenienz, p. 23 with references. On some similar formations developed in the Scand. languages see HELLQVIST, Nominalbildning, Ark. 7, 147 f.

[2] On the etymology of this noticeable name some remarks may be appropriate. In Whitby Ch., p. 114 n., Canon Atkinson calls attention to two or three instances of the word, as it seems in appellative use (the last instance above can also be the appellative). He explains it from O.E. *wang* 'field' and *dæl* 'part or share' and assumes the compound to have signified 'a single division, share or 'deal' of the large open arable land of any given township'. See further l. c. . The word seems to have survived in N.E. times; E.D.D. gives *wandale* N.Yo., obsolete, with the same definition. But the native origin of the word might be questioned. First of all the Scand. form of nearly all instances on record should be taken into consideration. All of them belong to pre-eminently Scandinavian regions in the East and North Ridings of Yo. Furthermore it must be kept in mind that O.E. *wang* was, according to Bosw. TOLLER, almost confined to poetry; in the numerous O.E. field-names investigated by MIDDENDORF it is conspicuous by its absence. N.E. dial. *wang* is known exclusively from Scand. England (Yo. Nott. Li. Le. North. e. Angl.), and two place-names that are presumed by JELLINGHAUS (Anglia XX) to contain the O.E. word belong to Yo. and Suff. Hence it may be inferred that in the M.E. place-names of the counties just mentioned *wang* probably represents O.W.Scand. *vangr* 'campus' and O.Dan. *vang.* The latter word is recorded in the specialized sense of 'a cultivated field in which all the villagers hold shares' (LUND; cf. O.Swed. *vanger* 'enclosed field'). This goes well with the meaning of *wandail,* which term would thus, in its entirety, be of Scand. origin. Unlike the foregoing compounds with *deil, wandail* seems always to have been used of arable land; in the Ramsey Ch. *wong* is actually employed by the side of the native *furlong* to denote a communal field under tillage (see RHAMM, die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen, p. 289).

Eyk Suff. 1271, 1313 f. C. Inq., 1301, 1339 Cl. R., 1316 f. Suff. fines, I.N., 1350 f. Rot. Orig., 1351 Pat. R., 1399 Cal. Inq.; *Eyck* Tax. eccl.; *Eyks* 1362 Cal. inq. da.; *Eyke* No. vill., 1381 Cal. Inq., c. 1450 Ipswich wills, 1453 Suff. Tax R., 1493 C. Inq.; *Eik* 1432 Cal. Inq.; now Eyke.

From O.W.Scand. *eik* (O.Swed. *ēk*, O.Dan. *eg*) 'oak'. The word is not seldom found as a place-name in Norway, e. g. *Æik* D.N. 3, (1388), E.J., etc. — The native equivalent, O.E. *āc*, was also employed as a place-name, e. g. *Ach* Yo. DoB., now Aike (par. of Lockington), of which sporadic Scandinavianized forms occur about the close of the 13th cent.: *Eyk* Rot.H., *Ayk* Kirkby, 1303 Pat.R.; apart from these, only spellings with *a* are recorded.

Echeringe, *Ecringe* Nott. DoB.; *Eikeringe* 1156, *Eicringe* t. Hen. II, *Eycring*, *Eichring*, *Heykering* l. 12th cent., Br.Mus.; *Eicheringa* 1165 Pipe R.; *Ekeringes* 1166 Liber rub.; *Aikering* 1229, *Eigring* l. 12th cent., *Aikring* t. John Br.Mus.; *Eykeryng*, *Eykering*, *Eycring* e. 13th cent. — t. Hen. III., *Aykring*, *Eykring* t. Hen. III. — Edw. I., Br.Mus.; *Eykering* 1235 Gray's Reg., 1269 f. Giffard's Reg., 1285 Ch. R., 1288 C. Inq., 1290 f. Cl. R., 1298 Br.Mus., etc.; *Eykringe* 1236, *Ekering* 1259 Br.Mus.; *Aykering* Rot. H., 1341 Br.Mus.; *Ekeringe* 1280 Wickwane's Reg.; *Eycring*, *Eykringk* Tax. eccl.; *Eykring* 1302 F.A., 1317 Br.Mus.; *Aygring* 1316 Ch. R.; *Ekering* 1322 Cl. R.; *Eykeryng*, *Aykeryng* t. Edw. III. Plac. Warr.; *Akeryng* 1325 Pat. R.; *Ekeringe* 1306 Ch. R., 1414 Cal. Inq.; *Eykering* 1338, 1415 Cal. Inq.; *Ekeryng* 1346, 1428 F.A., 1349, 1409 f. Pat. R.; *Hekeringe* 1330 Br.Mus.; *Eikeryng* 1340 Pat. R.; *Aykeryng* 1428 F.A.; *Eykeryng* 1431 f. Pat. R.; *Ekryng* 1444 ibd.; now Eakring.

Probably from O.W.Scand. **Eikareng*, 1st mem. being then gen. sing. of *eik* 'oak'.[1] Cf. preceding name. The same case of the word is sometimes found in O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Æikarœy* D.N. 4 (1347), *Æykrin* ibd. 2 (1279), etc.

Besides *eik* the O.W.Scand. language possessed also a parallel form *eiki* (< **aikia*-; O.Swed. *eke*, O.Dan. *eki*), a collective formation, meaning 'oak-timber; an oak-wood, place covered with oaks'. Both these nouns entered into a great many O.Scand. compound place-names, in which they cannot always be properly di-

[1] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *eng* 'a meadow' = O.E. *ing*.

stinguished from each other. The same holds good of a number of M.E. place-names, in which they seem to occur. I now proceed to give a list of the instances that are worthy of consideration.

Aykeberh Lanc. 1190—1206, 1212—40 f', *Aikeberhe* 1190—1220 c., *Aikeberh, Eikeberhe* 1240—50, *Ayberg* 1251—60, Cockers. Ch.; *Aykeberwe* Tax. eccl.; *Aikebergh* 1328 Whalley Ch., *Aikeburgh* ibd. unknown date; *Eikebergh* 1448 Cockers. Ch.; now Aigburth (in Garston).[1]

Aykebergh Yo. 1289 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Aykebergh, Aykeberg* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Aykbergh* vel *Dykbergh* 1342 Cal. Inq.; now Akebar.[1]

Aykeby Yo. 1183 Richmond Reg., identical with(?) *Aykesby* 1289 ibid. Cannot be traced on the modern map.[2]

Aykehefd Cumb. 1285 C. Inq.; *Aikheved* 1365, *Aykeheved, Aykheved* 1366 Cal. Inq.; now Akehead (in Wigton par.).[3]

Aycle Li. DoB.; *Aicle* 1199 Rot. Ch., Wells' Vic. book; *Aicle, Aecle* Rot. Hug.; *Eycles, Heicle* 1236 Cl. R.; *Heycle* 1284 F.A.; *Eykil, Eykel* Rot. H.; *Eycle* 1236, 1312 Cl. R., Tax. eccl., T.N., 1312 f. Pat. R., 1316 F.A., 1365 f. Cal. Inq.; *Eicle* 1312 f. Cl. R.; *Aykel* 1312 Rot. Orig.; *Eykil, Aykyl* 1313 Pat. R.; *Aycle* 1312, 1344 Cl. R.; *Aykil* 1384, *Ecle* 1402, *Egle* 1442, *Egyll* 1472 Pat. R.; now Eagle.[4]

Echescard Yo. DoB.; *Aikeskerth* 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Aykesgarde* t. Hen. III. Cal. Inq.; *Aykesgard, Arkesgard* 1269 C. Inq.; *Aykescharth* 1282 C. Inq., 1286 Richmond Reg., 1313 Cat. A.D.; *Aykescarth* Kirkby, Tax. eccl., l. 13th cent. Ch. R. (inspex.

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *berg* 'mountain, rock' (cf. p. 13, n. 2). The same name is frequently met with in Scandinavia, e. g. *Eikeberg* D.N. 1 (1402), etc.; *Ekæbiargh* LCD., *Ekebœrgha* Styffe (1395).

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Cf. in Norway *Æikabyy* D.N. 2 (1448), in Sweden *ekiby* S.D. II (1299), etc.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *hefd, hefed* (O.E. *hēafod*) N.E. head. I have not been able to ascertain what the word signifies in this particular case. In M.E. it meant inter alia: a) the top, summit, upper end of an eminence, etc. b) the upper end of something on a slope or so regarded, e. g. the higher end of a valley, etc. N.E. head is used, besides, of a projecting point of a rock or sandbank, as was also O.W. Scand. *hofuð*. See N.E.D.

[4] The etymology of 2nd mem. is not clear. Perhaps from M.E. *lei, lee* (O.E. *lēah*) 'a meadow, pasture', or M.E. *lee* (O.E. *hlēo*) 'shelter, protection', if this word could be used in place-names, as is stated by Middendorf.

1307); *Aykeskarth* 1296 Pat. R., 1301 Yo. Subs., 1390 Cat.A.D.; *Aykesgarth* 1297, 1388 Cal. Inq., 13th cent.(?) Furness Ch., I.N.; *Aykscharch* No. vill.; *Aykscarth* 1317 Ch. R.; *Aikesgarthe* 1367 f. Cal. Inq.; *Aykeskarth* 1395, 1421 ibd.; *Ayskarth* 1400 Pat. R., 1403 Cal. Inq.; *Aykescarth* 1458 Cal. Inq., 1475 Pat. R.; now Aysgarth.[1]

Echescol Yo. DoB.; *Aykischowe* 1183 Richmond Reg.; *Aykescoel* 1251 Ch. R.; *Aykescouk* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Ayscough* 'Kirkby, 1387 Cal. Inq.; *Aykeskeygh* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Discogh* (MSS. A. and F. *Aiscogh*) No. vill.; *Aykescogh* 1359 Cal. Inq.; now Aiskew[2].

Aykescof Lanc. 1190—1212 Cockers. Ch.; *Eykeschou* c. 1260 Scarisbrick ch.; *Exsco, Aykesko* 1285 C. Inq.; *Aykescogh* 1323 Burscough ch. Mon. VI, 1; 1366 see App. B. to Lanc. Subs. R. 1332; now Ayscough (in Kirkham par.).[2]

Ectone Cumb. DoB.; *Ayketon* 1246 f., 1335 C. Inq., 1272, 1335 f. Rot. Orig., Tax. eccl., 1309 Cl. R., 1348 f., 1429 Pat. R., 1322 f., 1424 Cal. Inq., 1485 C. Inq., etc.; *Hayketon* 1287 C. Inq.; *Aykton* 1466 Cal. Inq.; *Ayktone* 1484 Br.Mus.; now Aikton.[3]

Aitone Yo. DoB.; *Aykeston* 1250 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Ayketon* T. N., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Ayketon, Aketon* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Dyketon* No. vill.; *Aiketon* 1352 Cal. Inq.; *Aykton* 1386 Cal. Inq.; now Ackton (par. of Featherstone).[3]

Aikedale Yo. 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; now Oakdale (in Thimbleby).[4]

Eykedal Yo. 1339 Pat. R.; in Whorlton.[4]

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[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *skarð* 'a notch, chink in the edge of a thing, hence a gap, mountain-pass', Germ. *Felsenscharte.* Frequent in North Engl. place-names of Scand. origin (further instances will be given in Part II, under Scand. *sk*). O.Swed. *skardh* 'score, notch, lessening', O.Dan. *skarth* 'lessening', O.E. *sceard* 'gap, notch'; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Loanwords, p. 122. In the spellings of the present name *skarð* has been repeatedly confused with O.W.Scand. *garðr,* a common place-name terminal in the North of England, which word in modern times ultimately prevailed. CAMDEN has *Askorth.*

[2] The name is identical with the O.W.Scand. appellative *eikiskógr* (O.Swed. *ekeskogher*) 'an oak-wood'. As for the 2nd mem. cf. Scorbrough p. 15. On the remarkable spelling with *-l* in DoB. and Ch. R. see under *Oldebi,* Ch. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. as in *Bernertone* p. 7.

[4] 2nd mem. as in Bartindale, p. 4. Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *Eikidale* E. J.

Aykegil Cumb. 12th cent.(?) Holm Cultram Reg. Mon. V.[1]
Aikelid Yo. 1312 Pat. R.; nr. Rainton?[2]
Aiclund (*'Boscum'*), *Heikelundhill* North. 1199 Feet of fines.[3]
Aykelund (wood) Nott. 1316 Ch. R. Nr. Grimesmoor in Woodborough[3].
[**Aykescoghe** Wm. 1359 Cal. Inq. Nr. Dufton.][4]
Aicwath Yo. 12th cent. Rievaulx Ch.; nr. Kirkby Moorside.[5]

Andretesbie, *Endrebie* Le. DoB.; *Andredebi* 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Endredeby* e. Hen. III. Br.Mus., 1229 Cl. R., 1253 Le. rec., 1284 F.A.; *Endirdeby* 1286 Br.Mus.; *Enderdeby* 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1337 Br.Mus.; *Enderby* Tax. eccl., 1409 f. Cal. Inq., 1428 F.A.; now Enderby.

1st mem. is the gen. case of the O.Swed. man's name *Endridhi* (O.Dan. **Endrithi*, Nielsen) or of the O.W.Scand. *Eindriði*. If it is the latter form, the diphthong *ei* has shortened to *e* before the consonant group, in accordance with the sound-law given by Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 123. The initial *a*-vowel of two of the earliest spellings on record (see above) can depend on native Engl. influence. But another explanation might also be suggested. There was in O.W.Scand. a pers. name *Andriðr*, of which Lind knows only two instances. This is probably a parallel form to *Eindriðr*, the diphthong of which would be contracted into *ā*, when the stress was shifted on to the next syllable, which may sometimes have been the case. Cf. the examples adduced by Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 54, 3; Altschwed. Gr. § 80, 4. In the same way the name *Eindriði* may in old times have possessed a by-form **Andriði*. It is possible that the spellings of DoB. and the Pipe rolls reflect this very old interchange of phonetical variants of the same name, *Eindriði* and **Andriði* (or *Andriðr*). Cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 34.[6].

O.W.Scand. *Eindriði* enters into three Yorkshire place-names, terminating in the Scand. *by;* the monophthongized (probably O.E. Scand.) form perhaps into three similar Lincolnshire ones, which follow in due order:

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[1] 2nd mem. as in *Wymundergil,* p. 18.
[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *hlið* 'slope'; cf. Litherland, p. 12.
[3] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *lundr,* etc., 'a grove'; see further under Londonthorpe, p. 13. Cf. the Norw. place-name *Eikelund*, Rygh, N.G. IV 2, p. 72.
[4] 2nd mem. as in Aiskew and Ayscough, p. 38.
[5] 2nd mem. as in Brawith, p. 27, n. 1.
[6] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

Eindrebi, *Andrebi* Yo. DoB., *Enderdeby, Aynderby* t. Edw. I. C. Inq.; *Eyenderby, Ayenderby, Aynderby* c. 1283 Wickwane's Reg.; *Enderby* 1281 Yo. inq.; *Aynderby* 1279 f. Yo. inq., Tax. eccl., 1301 Yo. Subs., I.N., 1392, 1435 f. Cal. Inq.; *Aynderby Fourneux* Kirkby; *A. wyth Stepil* No. vill.; *A. Wythesteple* 1318 Pat. R.; *Ainderby Furneis* 1405 Cal. Inq.; *Aynderby, Anderby with the Stepill* 1424 Pat. R.; *Aynderby with the Steple* 1437 Cal. Inq.; 1498 Cat.A.D., etc.; now Ainderby Steeple.[1]

Endrebi Yo. DoB.; *Enderdeby, Aynderby* t. Edw. I. C. Inq.; *Enderdeby* 1281 Yo. inq.; *Aynderby* Kirkby; *Anderby* No. vill.; *Ainderby* 1340 Cal. Inq.; *Aynderby in le Myre* 1498 Cat.A.D.; now Ainderby Myers.[2]

Aiendrebi, *Andrebi* Yo. DoB.; *Enderby, Ainderby* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Aynderby-vecunt* t. Hen. III., *Anderbyvesconte* 1281 Yo. inq.; *Aynderby* Kirkby, No. vill.; now Ainderby Quernhowe.

Endrebi Li. DoB., Surv. 1118; *Eynderby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Enderby* Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., 1331 f. Cal. Inq.; *Enderby Malbys* 1302 Br.Mus.; *Malbisenderby* I.N.; *Malbus Enderby* 1362 Br.Mus.; *Endyrby* 1428 F.A.; *Malbush Endyrby* 1431 ibd.; *Malbish Enderby* 1475 Cal. Inq.; now Mavis Enderby.[3]

[1] According to Kirkby's Quest (1284-85) *Robertus de Fourneux* held one carucate here; hence the distinctive adjunct of the place-name. In 1316 (No. Vill.) *Johannes de Furnels* was lord of the township.

[2] The qualifying adjunct is apparently M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* 'moor, bog, swampy ground'; see further in ch. 6. Close by are two hamlets, Great & Little Fencote (*Fencotes* DoB.), which name also betrays the nature of the soil of these parts.

[3] The origin of the word *Malbys*, which seems to have been prefixed about 1300, has been the subject of much guess-work. STREATFEILD starts from the present form Mavis, and assumes it to be O.W. Scand. *mjór, mjár,* 'narrow', which is naturally inadmissible. Of more plausibility is the conjecture mentioned incidentally by S., according to which the place was so named from 'a Richard de Malbyse . . ., lord of the manor in the 12th cent'. As far as linguistic evidence goes, nothing prevents us from accepting this view; however, the relation in which R. stood to Enderby is, as far as I can see from the material at my disposal, by no means cleared up. Richard (de) Malebisse († 1209) in 1198 founded Newbo Abbey, nr. Grantham (DUGDALE, Mon. VI, 887; cf. Vict. Hist. Li. II, 207), but there is no record of his having held any land in Enderby. His possessions like those of his descendants seem chiefly to have been in Yorkshire, where the present Acaster Malbis (written *Acastre Malebys* in Kirkby's Quest 1284-85 and in subsequent records) took its name from the family. Cf. SIDNEY LEE, Dict. of nat. biogr.

Endrebi Li. Surv. 1118, 1195 Li. rec.; *Enderby* 1226 Li. rec.; *Henderby* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Bagenderby* Tax. eccl., I.N.; *Baggenderby* 1316, *Endyrby*, *Baggendyrby* 1428 F.A.; now Bag Enderby.[1]

Endrebi Li. DoB.; *Enderby*, *Endereby* Rot. H.; *Henderby* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Wodenderby* Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., I.N., *Enderby* 1340 f. Cal. Inq.; *Wodehenderby* 1392 Br.Mus.; now Wood Enderby.

[**Ananderdala** Cumb. 1189 Ch. R. (inspex. 1308); *Enderdale* 1303 Pat. R.; *Eynordale* 1322 Cl. R.; *Eynerdale* 1334 C. Inq., 1338 Cl. R.; *Eyverdale* 1350 Cal. Inq.; *Enerdale* 1395 Pat. R.; now Ennerdale.

1st mem. is derived by Taylor (Words and places, p. 116) from the O.W.Scand. personal name *Einarr* (O.Swed. *Enar*, O.Dan. *Enær*), which is very much open to question.[2] We must not leave out of account the possibility that the vale of Ennerdale originally took its name from the River Ehen, by which it is traversed. Unfortunately early instances of this river-name are missing. It appears in 1322 Cl. R. as *Eygne*, *Eynge;* moreover the present lake Ennerdale Water, from which the river flows, was called *Eyneswater* 1338 Cl. R., and *Eynes* ... 1322 ibd. In consideration of the extreme antiquity of most English river-names it may seem that the name of the river was the oldest formation, after which the lake and the vale were subsequently named. However, for want of earlier references I must content myself with giving these hints without attempting to solve the problem.]

Amstapelid Cumb. 1178 Pipe R.; *Einstapeleth*, *Eistapelith* 1210 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Aynstapelith* Tax. eccl.; *Aynstaplith* 1302 N. Reg., 1337 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Aynscaplyt* 1304 Cal. Inq.; *Aynstapellith*

[1] I have found no clue that might lead to an acceptable derivation of the prefixed word. Streatfeild thinks it to be 'Old Norse bak': back. — Besides the Enderbys, DoB. mentions a place called *Endretorp* Li., which I cannot locate on the map. The 1st mem. of the name appears to be as in Enderby. Identified by Streatfeild with the present Aisthorpe, which, however, seems to me somewhat doubtful.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *dalr* (O.E.Scand. *dal*) 'valley', or the corresponding M.E. *dale* (O.E. *dæl*). In the spelling of 1322 above, the *o* is obviously miswritten for *e*. — Does the same or a related word form the 1st mem. of the name *Aynerholm* (wood) Wm. 1347 Pat. R., 1347, 1348 Cl. R. (perhaps identical with *Ayverholm* 1320 Pat. R., and *Aymerholme* t. Edw. III. Furness Ch.) in Windermere?

1315 C. Inq.; *Aynstaplelith* 1324, *Aynstapellyth* 1335, *Aynstapelyth* 1346 Cl. R.; *Anstaple* 1464 Cal. Inq.; *Aynstaplyth* 1485 C. Inq.; now Ainstable.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *ein-stapi* 'the common Brakes', Pteris Aquilina, which plant is of frequent occurrence on the hills and in the woods of England, being particularly conspicuous on the mountain slopes of the North.[1] See W. J. Hooker, Species Filicum, London 1858, II, 199 and J. Smith, Historia Filicum, London 1875, p. 299. Norw. dial. *einstape*, *eistape* with the same and other meanings, see Ross. Cf. Swed. *enstabb*, *enstapel* (Fries, Kritisk ordbok öfver Svenska växtnamnen, Stockholm 1880). The O.E. etymological equivalent is *ānstapa* 'lonely wanderer', allied with the verb *stæppan* 'to step, go'. O.W.Scand. *einstapi* is found in the O.Norw. place-name '*af Æinstapasætre*' D.N. 2 (1298) and, perhaps, in the Shetlandic Jenastabadal < **einstapadalr* (Jakobsen, p. 191).

Einesti, *Ainesti* Yo. DoB.; *Ainstiwapentagio* 1189 Pipe R.; *Heynsti* 1190 York Hist.; *Aynestik* 1267-76 N. Reg.; *Anesti* 1268, *Aynesty* 1269, *Aynstik*, *Eynesty*, *Aynesty*, *Ainstebi* 1275 Giffard's Reg.; *Ainesty*, *Ansty* Rot. H.; *Aynesty* Rot. H., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1278 C. Inq., 1310 Ch. R., 1316 Pat. R., 1322 Cl. R.; *Aynsty* 1255 Yo. doc., Kirkby, Tax. eccl., 1310 Ch. R., No. vill., 1463 Pat. R.; now Ainsty (Wapentake).

From O.W.Scand. *ein-stigi* 'a single path, so narrow that only one can pass', Norw. dial. *einstig;* cf. O.E. *ānstīg* f. = *ānpæþ* 'one-by-one path, narrow path (Sweet, Ags. Dict.), and the allied verbs O.E. *stīgan* 'to go, ascend, mount', O.W.Scand. *stíga* 'to step, esp. to step upwards'.[2]

[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *hlíð* 'a slope, hill- or mountainside'; cf. Litherland, p. 12.

[2] *Stī* is the regular M.E. representative of O.W.Scand. *stigi* with the spirant [ȝ]. The above 13. century form *-stik*, if not a misspelling, is remarkable. It seems to presuppose introduction of the corresponding O.E., M.E. *stīȝ* into the name; the final sound of this word was as late as the 13. cent., at least in some dialects (cf. Kluge in Paul's Gr., p. 1004 d.), the voiceless spirant [χ]. The rendering of this spirant by *k* may depend on A.N. sound-substitution. — With regard to the signification of this name, cf. the name of a hundred in Sweden, O.Swed. *Reðuägh* (l. 13. cent.), which properly meant a road passable on horseback, from O.Swed. *redh* 'riding' (on horseback) and *vægher* 'road'. See Sveriges Ortnamn: Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län X.

Ayntre Lanc. 1199-1220 Cockers. Ch.; *Aintre* 1226 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Aintree* 1226 Lanc. Inq.; *Ayntre* 1292, 1461 Cockers. Ch., 1296, 1321 f. Lanc. Fin. Conc., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1309 Cl. R., 1322 f. Lanc. Inq., 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Aynetre* 1476 Pat. R.; now Aintree (par. of Sefton).

Possibly from an O.W.Scand. compound **ein-tré*, Norw. dial. *ein-tre* (Ross) 'a tree standing alone or apart'. The following brief description of the natural aspect of the locality may, to some extent, corroborate this conjecture: 'The country is extremely flat, and in the northern portion of the township the level of the landscape is scarcely broken by even the smallest trees, and the hedges are but scanty. The surface, occupied by cultivated fields, where corn and potatoes find a congenial soil, is a mixture of clay and sand'. Vict. Hist. Lanc. III, 99. Perhaps there was, at one time, in this plain a lonely tree, visible from afar, after which the place was thus named.

Foitesbi, *Feizbi*, *Fezbi* Yo. DoB.; *Fayzeby*, *Feizceby* e. 13. cent., *Feyceby* 13. cent. Guisbr. Ch.; *Faicesby* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Fayceby* 1252 f. Rievaulx Ch., 1267-76 N. Reg., 1279 Yo. inq., 1293 Guisbr. Ch.; *Faceby* Kirkby; *Faiceby* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Faiceby*, *Fayceby*, *Fesceby* 1332 Riev. Ch.; *Fayseby* 1340 Pat. R.; *Fayceby* 1301 Yo. Subs., 1313 Pat. R., No. vill., 1364 Cat.A.D., 1378 Pat. R., 1384 Cal. Inq.; *Facebye* 1403 Cal. Inq.; *Faceby* 1425 Cal. Inq., 1475 Pat. R.; now Faceby.

1st mem. is gen. sing. of the O.W.Scand. adj. *feitr*[1] 'fat' (O.Swed. *feter*, O.Dan. *feet*, Jessen), here obviously applied as a surname to a settler on the spot. F. Jónsson has noted the form *feiti* in a similar function (Tilnavne, p. 227). The same gen. form of *feitr* seems to occur in the O.Icel. place-name *Feitsdal*,

[1] The Domesday mode of rendering Scand. *ei* with *oi* in *Foitesbi*, which need not necessarily be regarded as misspelling, is remarkable. Björkman (in Scand. Loan-words, p. 26 ff.) does not seem to have come across any similar cases in M.E. I suppose this spelling is to be ascribed to the French copyist, since it cannot possibly proceed from any native English sound-development. Both the *o*- and the *e*-symbols in the DoB. (Exchequer) MSS. are written very distinctly. In the place-name material, on which the present treatise is based, there occur besides *Foitesbi* three other instances of this graphic phenomenon, all of which belong to the county of Yorkshire, viz. (see next page):

feitzsdal D.I. 3 (1405). On *z*, *c* as symbols for [ts] etc. in M.E. see above p. 28, under Braceby.[1]

Flaneburc, *Flaneburg* Yo. DoB.; *Fleineburhc* 1128-32 Br.Mus.; *Flayneburg* 1235 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Fleyneburg* 1237 Cl. R.; *Fleineburg*, *Fleynburg* 1273 Pat. R. (43rd Rep. of the Dep. Keeper); *Fleinburg* 1267-76 N. Reg., c. 1275 Giffard's Reg.; *Flaymburgh*, *Flaynburg* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Flamburg* Rot. H.; *Fleinesburgh* c. 1300 Whitby Ch. (cf. Introd. ibd., p. XLVII); *Flaymburgh* 1317 Cl. R.; *Flayneburgh*, *Flaynburgh* 1319 A.Plac.; *Flainburgh* 1322 Cl. R.; *Fleyngborugh* 1342 Cl. R.; *Fleynburgh* Tax. eccl., 1324 f. Cl. R., 1322 f., 1406 Pat. R.; *Flaynburgh* Kirkby, No. vill., 1318 f. Cl. R., 1324 f. Pat. R., 1432 f. ibd., 1441 Cal. Inq.; *Flamburgh* 1487 C. Inq.; now. Flamborough.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *fleinn:* 1) a bayonet-like pike, the fluke of an anchor 2) a kind of shaft, dart (Vigf.); e. Dan. *flen* (Kalkar).[2] The place was probably called so from being situ-

Esnoid, Esnoit (and *Esneid*) Yo. DoB. < O.W.Scand. *sneið* see below under Snaith.

Hundredestoit » » < O.W.Scand. *þveit*, see this word at the end of this Ch.

Muceltuoit » » < O.W.Scand. *þveit*, see this word at the end of this Ch.

In all probability the copyist found in his original the names under discussion written with *ei*. This diphthong, from whatever source it might have arisen, was as familiar to the Norman scribe as it was to the native one. But our copyist, who occasionally substituted *oi* for the *ei* of his text, may have originated from Central or East French provinces or, at any rate, have been influenced in his language by their dialects, since this substitution of his might possibly be explained as a reflection of the transition *ei* (< Lat. close *ē*) > *oi*, which was a characteristic of those provinces, while the Norman and Western dial. remained at the stage *ei*. Cf. Bourciez, Précis historique de Phonétique Française (Paris 1900), p. 56, and Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française, p. 142. Behrens (Paul's Gr., p. 961) gives some analogous Anglo-French *oi*-forms that mostly occur by the side of the Norman ones with *ei*; those of the former kind do not appear earlier than the middle of the 13th cent. On French territory the sound-change in question was completed towards the end of the 12th cent.; the above-mentioned four instances of the *oi*-spelling, seem, consequently, to be the earliest traces of the process on record in England.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. — Does the O.E.Scand. *fēter* etc., in the same case, enter into the place-name *Fetestorp* Norf. 1208 A.Plac., now lost on the map?

[2] 2nd mem. originally perhaps O.W.Scand. *borg* 'fortified or fortifiable place, fortress', or M.E. *burȝ* 'fort, castle'.

ated on a lofty, pike-shaped promontory (Flamborough Head), which formed a sort of natural stronghold and was furthermore fortified on the western side by a long ditch or rampart, still called the Danes' Dyke. Apart from the presumably Anglicized forms of DoB., there are almost exclusively spellings with the diphthong recorded in M.E., as far as I am aware, and the name is no doubt of Scand. origin. On the sole authority of the Domesday, TAYLOR (Names and their histories, p. 125) derives the name from the corresponding O.E. *flān* 'arrow, dart', an explanation that is clearly disproved by the subsequent M.E. spellings.[1]

Frestintorp Yo. DoB.; *Fraistingtorp* 12. cent. Yo. old deeds; *Freistingthorp* 12. cent. Swine ch., Mon. V; *Freysthorp*, *Fraysthorp* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Freistorp* 1290 Ch. R.; *Fraysthorp* 1299 Cal. Inq.; *Fraisthorp* Kirkby, 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill., 1335 Cal. Inq.; *Fraistingthorpe* 1312 Pat. R.; *Fraistingtorpe* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Fraysthorpe* 1305 Cal. Inq., 1313, 1346 Pat. R., 1333 Cl. R.; *Freysthorp* 1399 Cal. Inq.; now Fraisthorpe.

1st mem. is, perhaps, a lost O.W.Scand. surname **Freistingr*, derived from the same root as the verb *freista* (O.Swed. *fresta*, O.Dan. *fræstæ*): 1) to try, tempt, make trial of 2) to try one's hand at, venture upon something. As far as can be judged by the recorded meanings of this verb compared with those of related words, **Freistingr* might properly have signified 'a venturesome, daring, audacious person', or, less probably, 'one apt to tempt, try others'. Of cognate words may be mentioned O.W.Scand. *freistinn* (O.Swed. *frestin*) adj. 'daring, tempting', *freistni*, *freisting* 'temptation'; further OHG. *freisôn* 'in Gefahr

[1] According to TAYLOR the 1st mem. would here refer to 'the conspicuous needles of chalk called the High Stacks which stand out in the sea at the extremity of Flamborough Head'. Still I think it more likely that the striking resemblance of the headland to a pike in the first place suggested the name to the minds of the Scandinavians. — O.W.Scand. *fleinn* was also used as a surname (KAHLE, p. 180) and had even passed into a regular pers. name *Fleinn* (O.Dan. *Flen*, see LIND), which, however, need scarcely be taken into consideration in the present case. A Danish equivalent of Flamborough, in a way, might be the present *Flensburg* (written thus as early as the 13. cent SRD.) in Schleswig, provided it does not contain the pers. name *Flen*, which STEENSTRUP (Da. Stednavne, p. 78) seems to doubt. If that be so, does O.Dan. *flen* here bear on the shape of the bay on which the town stands?

sein', O.Sax. *frêsa* 'Gefahr, Gefährdung', *frêsôn* 'gefährden, versuchen'. Cf. some similar personal derivatives examined by KAHLE in Ark. XXVI, p. 235 f. — With regard to the form of the place-name in DoB., it should be observed that the loss of *g* in such a position is a phenomenon that is well instanced in compounds of the same type occurring in that record; examples are to be found on almost every page of it.[1]

Gayle Lanc. 1247 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; in Wennington.
Probably from O.W.Scand. *geil* 'a narrow glen'. See further under *Hagayl* in this chapter.

Gheregrave, *Geregrave* Yo. DoB.; *Geirgrave* 1226 f. Gray's Reg., 1317 Pat. R., 1325 Cl. R., 1335 C. Inq.; *Geyregrave* 1231 f. Pat. R., 1235 Gray's Reg., 1272 Giffard's Reg., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1279 Ch. R., 1303 Yo. inq.; *Gayregrave* 1252 Gray's Reg., 1272 Giffard's Reg.; *Geregrave* 1251 Pat. R., 1253 C. Inq., Rot. H.; *Gergrave* 1236 Cl. R., 1260 Yo. inq., Kirkby, 1288 f. A.Plac., Tax. eccl., 1312 Pat. R., 1318 N. Reg.; *Gairgrave* 1273 Cal. Inq., 1313 Pat. R., 1314 C. Inq.; *Geyrgrave, Gayr-, Gare-* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Geyrgrave* 1313 Rot. Orig., 1314 f. Pat. R.; *Gayrgrave* (al. *Gergrave*) 1314 C. Inq.; *Gayrgrave* 1308 f. Pat. R., No. vill., 1322 A.Plac., etc.; now Gargrave.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *geiri* m. in the sense of 'a triangular, wedge-shaped strip of land', as in the compound *land-geiri* (VIGF.).[2] The word, which originally meant 'a triangular piece like a spear-point', seems to have been common to all or most Teutonic languages, cf. O.Swed. *gere*, Norw. dial. *geire* 'wedge-like piece of cloth or skin, also of land', Swed. dial. *gere*, Dan. dial. *gære*, M.Du. *ghere* (VERWIJS & VERDAM, Middelnederl. Woordenb.); OHG. *gêro*, MHG. *gêre* 'keilförmiges Stück' (SCHADE), MLG. *gêre* 'Keil, Zipfel, längliches, dreieckiges Stück Land'. On English territory we find O.E. *gāra* 'an angular point, a promontory', M.E. *gore* 'a wedge-shaped strip of land on the side of an irregular field', N.E. dial. *gore, goar*, which belongs chiefly to southern England, though it is also found in the North. Of O.W.Scand. *geiri* as an appellative several instances appear in some M.E. records, which have hitherto escaped the notice of philologists.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] 2nd mem. probably O.W.Scand. *grǫf* (gen. *grafar*) 'a pit, hole dug.' Cf. O.E., M.E. *grāfe* 'trench, quarry'; O.E. *grāf*, M.E. *grafe*: grave, 'sepulcrum'.

In the royal confirmation of gifts to the Abbey of Louth Park, Lincolnshire, of A. D. 1314 (Ch. R. III) we frequently meet with patches of arable and meadow-land, called *gaira, geira,* in a charter of 1316 (ibd.) *gaira* (in Swineshead Drayton, in Holland, Li.). Of earlier date is a deed of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, written at Ossington, Nott., in 1206, where we find '*unam Gairam terre super Hagenegate*'; see facsimile in E. M. Thompson, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, London 1894. A letter of inspeximus of 1291 (Ch. R. II, 396) mentions the disposition of 'a place of wood' in the wood of Burwell Li., 'commonly called *La Gayre, Le Gayre*'.

Moreover, the aforesaid confirmation of gifts to Louth Park Abbey specifies the land of some persons in Saltfleetby as *Itachgeira* (Ch. R. III, p. 252), which word contains the O.Icel. law term *í-tak* n. 'a partial right of property in another's estate', esp. of glebes. A plot of land near Keddington Li. is termed *Karleton Gayre* (ibid.), another, in or near Kelstern, *Schithongaire* (ibid., p. 264). In a Nottingham document of A. D. 1416 there is a mention of '*una placea prati vocata le Gerland continens in se unam acram prati*' (Nott. rec.). This name exhibits the contracted O.E.Scand. form, which seems also to enter into fhe fieldname *Swanegera* Norf. 1317 Ch. R., in Baconsthorpe. Side by side with these Scand. forms the native word is used: *Gara* (in *Burton Feria* Li. = Burton Gate? 1314 Ch. R.), *gora* (in Clayworth Nott. 1316 ibd.), *the Swaynes Gores* 1331 Nott. rec., etc.

O.W.Scand. *geiri* survives in Scottish and North Engl. dialects (Nhb. Yo. Li.) as *gair, geir* (the latter only in Yo.), which signifies 1) a triangular piece of land in the corner of a field, which cannot be ploughed with the rest 2) a strip or spot of verdure or grass on a hill side or upland, etc. (see E.D.D.). On the division and arrangement of the arable land in M.E. times see Vinogradoff, Villainage in England, p. 223 f.

Cherestanc Lanc. DoB.; *Gerstang, Gairstang* 1189-1200 Cockers. Ch.; *Geirstang* 1190-1200, c. 1230 ibid., 1215 Rot. Ch.; *Geersteng* 1208 L. Fin. Conc.; *Geirstak, Gairestang* 1245 L. Ass. R.; *Gayerstang* 1246, *Geyrstang* 1256 L. Fin. Conc.; *Gairstang* 1246 C. Inq., 1246-56 f., 1418 f. Cockers. Ch., 1304 f. L. Fin. Conc.; *Geyrstang* 1249, *Geirstanke* 1302 Lanc. Inq.; *Gayrsteng, Gayrestang* Tax. eccl.; *Gayrstang* 1215, 1327 Cockers. Ch., t. Edw. I.

Plac. Warr., 1292 f. L. Fin. Conc., 1310 Ch. R., I. N., 1345 Cl. R., etc.; *Geirstank* 1303 F.A.; *Gerstang, Gayrestang* 1320-46 Lanc. Surv.; *Gairestank* 1331 Rot. Orig.; *Garestank* 1346 Pat. R.; *Gayrestange, Gair-* 1363 Cockers. Ch.; *Gairstang* 1323 Pat. R., 1332 Lanc. Subs. R., 1431 F.A.; *Garstang* 1340, 1477 Cockers. Ch., 1346 F.A., 1444 Pat. R., etc.; now Garstang.

1st mem. as in preceding name. From a formal point of view the O.W.Scand. man's name *Geiri* (O.E.Scand. *Geri*) can also be taken into consideration.[1] — With regard to the DoB. form of the place-name it may be remarked that in DoB. the initial explosive *g*, be it of native or Scand. origin, before *e, i* is generally rendered with *G* but very often with *Gh*. *Ch-* in this and some other cases is most likely due to misreading on the part of the copyist and stands for *Gh-*. Cf. Zachrisson, p. 137, and what is said under Gartree, the next page.

Gereford Yo. DoB., 1189 Ch. R. III, 1283 Wickwane's Reg., Tax. eccl., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1323 Pat. R.; *Gerford* Kirkby, Rot. H., 1322 f. Cl. R., 1326 f. Pat. R., 1367 f. Cal. Inq.; *Gerforth* t. Edw. I. Kirkstall Ch., 1378 Poll-tax; *Garford* e. Edw. III. Br. Mus.; now Garforth.

1st mem. is probably O.E.Scand. (O.Swed.) *gēre* = O.W.Scand. *geiri*, see above p. 46 f., or the O.Dan. personal name *Geri*, O.Swed. *Gere*[2], which occurs in M.E. as *Geri* Li. 1316 Ch. R.

Gerewic Li. 1163-81 Ch. R. III; *Gerewik* Rot. H.; *Garwik* 1297, *Gerwyk* 1427 Cal. Inq.; now Garrick (in Heckington).

[1] 2nd mem. M.E. *stang* < O.W.Scand. *stǫng* 'pole, stake', etc., for which in the present name the native O.E. *steng* has been occasionally substituted. Cf. p. 16, n. 1. The sporadic spellings above with *-k* indicate the explosive (and partly voiceless?) quality of the final *-g*. — It is worthy of note that this name is also found in Scotland: *Gairstang* Dumfries 1305 Ch. R., now Girstenwood.

[2] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford. West Garforth stands on a small stream tributary to the River Aire. — The same etymology as above might be assigned to the 1st mem. of *Geretorp* Le. 1179-80 Pipe R., but for the fact that, apart from that form, only spellings with *a* are known: *Garthorpe* 1124 Le. Survey, *Garthorp* 1199 Le. fines, etc., now Garthorpe.

1st mem. perhaps from O.E.Scand. (O.Swed.) *gēre*, see preceding name.[1] Does an O.W.Scand. parallel to this name exist in the Manx place-name Garwick, which is explained by Moore (p. 211) from Scand. '*Geira-vik*' or '*Gjar-vík*'? M. prefers the latter alternative.

Cheiretre Li. Surv. 1118; *Geretre* 1167-68, 1169-70 Pipe R.; *Gairtre* 1201 Rot. Canc.; *Geyrtre* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Gayrretre*, *Gayretre*, *Gayrtre* Rot.H., *Gayretre*, *Gayrtre*, *Geyrtre* Tax. eccl.; *Gayreter* T.N.; *Gayretre* 1338, *Gairtre* 1342 Pat. R.; *Gayrtree* 1316, 1428, *Gayrtre* 1428 F.A.; now Gartree (Wapentake).

Taylor (Names and their histories, p. 379) thinks this name represents O.E. *gyrtrēow* 'fir-tree', which cannot be right. Judging by the above M.E. spellings the 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *geiri* (see above p. 46) or, less probably, *geirr* 'a spear with a wedge-shaped point'.[2] Or is the name in its historic shape a Scandinavian variant of an original native formation? The *Ch-* of the earliest form on record can be a scribal error for *Gh-*, or be due to A.N. misrepresentation of the explosive sound, cf. under Garstang, p. 48.

Germundstorp, *Germundtorp*, *Germuntorp* Li. DoB.; *Ghermudtorp* Surv. 1118; *Germudtorp* 1208 Li. rec.; *Germundthorpa* Rot. Hug.; *Germundethorp* Wells' Vic. Book; *Germuntthorp* 1227 Cl. R.; *Germesthorp* 1241 Li. rec., 1339 Cl. R., 1340 Pat. R.; *Germundestorp* 1248 C. Inq.; *Germerthorp* 1291 Ch. R.; *Germethorp* 1223 Li. rec., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., t. Edw. I, 1311 C. Inq., 1316 F.A., 1324 Br.Mus., I.N., 1351 f. Pat. R., 1401 F.A.; *Germonthorp* 1303 F.A.; *Germundtorp*, *Germthorpe* 1314 Ch. R.; *Gernethorp* 1333 f. Cl. R., 1390 Br.Mus.; *Gernethorp*, *Garenthorp*

[1] 2nd mem. apparently O.Scand. *vík* 'bay, inlet, arm, creek'. On Camden's map (1722) we find *Garwick* in, or on the outskirts of, the Fens, the large morass that seems once to have extended over nearly the whole of South Lincolnshire down to Cambridge.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *tré* (O.E.Scand. *træ*) 'tree' = O.E. *trēo[w]*. Here should be mentioned *Geretrewes*, *Geretreu*, *Gertreu* Le. DoB.; *Gertru* 1175 f. Pipe R.; *Geretre* 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Gertre* Tax. eccl., 1311 f. Pat. R., 1327 Cl. R., 1402 f. F.A.; now Gartree (hundred). The name looks like a parallel to the Lincolnshire Gartree containing the contracted O.E.Scand. *gēre*; this is, however, for several reasons rather uncertain.

1343 Cl. R.; *Grenethorp* 1347 ibid; *Grempthorp*, *Germethorp* 1392 Br.Mus.; *Greinthorp* 1401 Pat. R.; *Garmethorpe* 1402 Pat. R., 1412 Br.Mus., see further Cal. Inq.; now Grainthorpe.

1st mem. is the O.Dan., O.Swed. man's name *Germund* (O.W.Scand. *Geirmundr*).[1] In the Latinized form *Germundus*, this name appears several times in DoB., chiefly in Norf., Suff., Ess.; further it occurs not infrequently in Li. records of the early Middle Ages; see e. g. Reg. de *Lekeburn*, Mon. V (13. cent.): *Germundus de Halington*, now Hallington, in the same wapentake as Grainthorpe. Björkman does not give the name. It enters into the O.Dan. place-name *Germendrup* D. Arch. III (1438); cf. *Germestorp* 1539, Falkman, Ortnamnen i Skåne, p. 127.[2]

[**Grimchiltorp** Li. Surv. 1118; *Germunthorp* 1160—70, *Germundetorp*, *Germundtorp* l. 12. cent. Br.Mus.; *Grimkiltorp* c. 1162 ibd.; *Grinkelthorp* 1234 Li. rec.; *Grunkiltorp* 1252 Ch. R.; *Grimpelthorp* Rot. H., 1316 F.A.; *Grimpilthorp* T.N., 1347 Cl. R.; *Grympilthorpe*, *Grimbilthorpe* 1346, *Grempulthorp* 1401, *Grimbulthorp*, *Grymylthorp* 1428 F.A.; now Grimblethorpe.

1st mem. originally the O.Dan. man's name *Grimkel* or O.W.Scand. *Grímkell*, in the course of the 12. cent. occasionally supplanted by *Germund*, see preceding name. This suggestion only holds on the presumption that the identification in Br.Mus. is correct.[2]]

Germundesweya Durh. BoB.; *Garmundeswaye* e. 13. cent. Guisbr. Ch.; *Garmundesway* etc. 15. cent. FPD.; now Garmondsway.

1st mem. as in the last name but one.[3]

Gerolfestuna, *Girolfestuna* Norf. DoB.; *Gerolueston* 1258 Ch. R., t. Edw. I. Br.Mus.; *Gervestone* 1275, *Gerveston* 1289 C. Inq.; *Gerviston* 1316 F.A.; now Garvestone.

1st mem. is the O.Dan. man's name *Gerulw* or O.Swed. *Gerulf* (O.W.Scand. *Geirólfr*).[4] This name occurs as *Gerulf*, *Gerolf* (in the heading *Girulf*) 1199 Rot. Ch. The spelling *Gir-*

[1] In Ingulf's Hist. Croylandensis (see Appendix A) we meet with the forms *Gerunthorpe*, *Gernthorp* (C.D. 297, 233), which are identified by Kemble and Thorpe (Dipl.) with Grainthorpe. Whether this identification is correct is, in my opinion, very questionable.

[2] For the 2nd mem. see Barthorpe p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *wei* (O.E. *weg*) 'way' = O.W.Scand. *vegr*.

[4] 2nd mem. as in *Bernertone* p. 7.

seems to be of Norman origin, cf. the examples given by Hildebrand, Zts. f. rom. Phil. VIII, p. 350,8.

Gerulftorp Li. DoB.; *Gerold'torp* 1179—80 Pipe R.; *Gerlethorp* 1238 Li. rec., c. 1290 Selby Ch., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1301 Cal. Inq., 1303 Pat. R., 1325 f. Cl. R.; *Gerlesthorpe* 1290 Cal. Inq.; *Gerlthorp* Rot.H., 1330 Pat. R.; *Gerlethorpe* 1305 Ch. R., 1316 F.A., 1339 Pat. R.; *Garlythorp* 1327, *Gerlthorpe* 1361, *Garlethorpe* 1382, etc. Cal. Inq.; now Garthorpe (in Luddington).

1st mem. as in preceding name.[1] Cf. the present Garthorpe in Leicestershire, dealt with p. 48, n. 2.

Geruezbi, *Gheruenzbi* Yo. DoB.; *Gerbordebi* 1278 C. Inq.; *Gervordeby* 1281 Cl. R.; *Gerwardby* 1284 C. Inq., 1338 Pat. R., 1344 f. Cal. Inq.; *Germandeby*, *Garmanby* Kirkby; *Gerwardeby* 1297 Yo. Subs., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Geruorby* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Gerwardbye* 1404, *Garwardbye* 1413 Cal. Inq.; now Garrowby (in Kirkby Underdale).

In its earliest form the 1st mem. was, perhaps, the O.Swed. man's name *Gervidh* (O.W.Scand. *Geirviðr*), or, judging by the post-Domesday spellings, O.Swed. *Gervardh*. See Lundgren.[2] On the symbol *z*, used in the spelling of DoB., cf. above p. 29.

Burton Li. DoB.; *Burtuna* Surv. 1118; **Gaitburton** t. John Spalding ch., Mon. III; *Burton* 1268 Ch. R.; *Geitburton* 1281 Cal. Inq.; *Geyteburton* Tax. eccl., 1299 A.Plac.; *Gayteburton* t. Edw. I. C. Inq., 1307 Cl. R., 1428 F.A.; *Gayburton* 1307 Pat. R.; *Gatteburton*, I.N.; *Gaitburton* 1312 f. Pat. R., 1411 Cal. Inq.; *Gaytburton* 1316 F.A., 1378 Br.Mus., 1341, 1409 Pat. R.; *Gaitburton*, *Gayteburton* 1419, *Gayteborton* 1473 etc. Cal. Inq.; *Gayte Burton*, *Gate Bureton* 1489 C. Inq.; now Gate Burton.

This name, at its earliest stage, seems to be of native origin; the question to be decided here merely concerns the etymology of the specializing adjunct *Gait-*, which was prefixed to the name about 1200, obviously with a view to distinguishing it from other Burtuns in the same county. Streatfeild (p. 301) assumes the Gate of the present name to represent M.E. *gate* 'a way, road'

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.
[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

(Scand.), on the ground, as I take it, that the place is situated not far from the ancient Roman road to Wragby (see CARY's map). The M.E. spellings tell against such an explanation; moreover, it should be observed that between this road and Burton there is another place with a name of equal age, viz. Marton (*Martuna* Surv. 1118). I think the word *Gait-* etc. in this case is the O.W.Scand. appellative *geit* 'goat' (O.Swed. *get*, Dan. *ged*, O.E. *gāt*), hardly the same word used as a surname (properly signifying a coward or silly person, cf. FRITZNER), or the O.W.Scand. personal name *Geiti* (LIND).

The following is a list of other M.E. place-names which seem to contain O.W.Scand. *geit*, though, theoretically, the pers. name *Geiti* can, in most cases, also be submitted to consideration.

Geiteford Yo. 1165—66 Pipe R.; *Gayteford* Rot.H., 1289, 1318 A.Plac., 1300 Yo. doc., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1332 f. Cal. Inq., 1339 f. Pat. R., 1378 Poll-tax.; *Gateford* No. vill.; *Gaitford* 1322 Cl. R.; *Geitford*, *Gaytford* 1338 Pat. R.; *Gaytford* Kirkby, 1323 Yo. doc., 1425 Pat. R.; *Gaitforth* 1506 Cat.A.D.; now Gateforth (in Brayton).[1]

Gayteford Nott. 1316 Ch. R.; *Geytford* 1366 Cal. Inq.; *Gaytford*, *Gatford* 1382 ibid.; *Gaitford* 1332 C. Inq.; 1473 Cal. Inq.; *Gaytford* 1392, 1428 Pat. R.; now Gateford (in Worksop par.).[1]

Geytescales Cumb. 1273 Cl. R.; *Gaytescales* 1307, 1345 Pat. R.; *Gaytsheles* 1316 Pat. R.; *Gaitescales* 1323 Cal. inq. da.; *Gaytiscales* 1323 R. Orig.; *Gaytsheles* 1337 Wetherhal Reg.; *Gaytscales* 1323 Cl. R., 1369 f. Cal. Inq., 1387 f. Pat. R.; *Gaytsholes*, *Gaitsheles* 1343 Cl. R.; *Gayteskales* 1345 Cl. R.; *Gaitscales* 1330 Pat. R., 1407 Cal. Inq.; *Gateschales* 1350, *Gaytescales* 1344, 1432 Cal. Inq.; *Gatescales* 1329 f. Cal. Inq., 1467 Pat. R.; now Gatesgill.[2]

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[1] 2nd mem. OE., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford. Gateforth lies about a mile from the River Aire, Gateford at the same distance from the River Ryton.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *skáli* 'a hut, shed, put up for temporary use, often at a considerable distance from the farm'. Further details about this word will be found in Ch. 5, in connection with other M.E. place-names containing it. In his account of the estates and families in Cumb. DENTON (see above p. 30 n.) offers the following contribution to the explanation of the name under notice: 'The hamlet Gaitskail was at first but a whinny place where the inhabitants of Raughton made skales and shields for their goats . . .'

Gettune Li. DoB.; *Geiton* t. John A.Plac.; *Geyton* 1217 f. Pat. R., 1281 Cal. Inq., 1274 Ch. R., 1303 F.A., 1346 Br.Mus.; *Gayton* Rot.H., T.N., Tax. eccl., 1338 f. Pat. R., 1316, 1428 F.A.; *Gaitton, Gaytton* 1314 Ch. R.; *Gaytton* 1431 F.A.; now Gayton le Marsh.[1]

Gaituna Li. c. 1150, *Gaitun* c. 1162 Br.Mus.; *Geyton* 1235 f. Cl. R., Tax. eccl.; *Geyton, Gayton* t. Edw. I. C. Inq.; *Gayton* a. 1254 Br.Mus., Rot.H., 1303 f. F.A., 1347 Cl. R.; now Gayton le Wold.[1]

Gaytelaye (ʿ*pastura*ʾ) Yo. c. 1146 (Papal confirm.) Whitby Ch.; nr. Hackness.[2]

Gayteridding Yo. 1235—55 Cockers. Ch.; in Sedbergh.[3]

Gayterig (ʿ*cultura*ʾ) Yo. 12. cent.(?) Whitby Ch.; in Tolesby.[4]

Gaytesigemire Cumb. c. 1210 Wetherhal Reg., see in Ch. 6.[5]

[**Ghetenesbi**, *Chenetesbi* Yo. DoB.; *Gaitaneby* 1183, *Gaytenby* 1286 Richmond Reg; *Geytenby* 1270, *Gaytanby* 1281, *Gaitinbe* 1282 Yo. inq.; *Gaytenby* Kirkby; *Gaytanby* 1301 Yo. Subs., No. vill.; *Gaitenby* 1297, 1367 Cal. Inq.; *Gaytonby* 1375 ibd.; *Gaytenby* 1439 ibd.; now Gatenby.

The township of G. stands on the river Swale, just opposite a narrow tongue of land, which is enclosed on three sides by the river. This situation, combined with the spelling of DoB., renders very likely the conjecture that we have here an original O.W.Scand. **Geitanes-býr;* in that case the former part of the compound represents the ancient name of the tongue of land, being composed of O.W.Scand. *geit* ʿgoatʾ (cf. prec. names) and *nes* ʿa neck or tongue of landʾ (cf. p. 2 n.). The latter word was frequently used in O.Norw. place-names to designate localities with the same site; for illustrative examples see Rygh, N.G. II, 18, 124 etc. The absence of the *[e]s* in all post-Domesday spellings is noticeable and can hardly be accounted for otherwise than by assuming that by the end of the 12. cent. the earliest

[1] On the 2nd mem. see p. 7, n. 1.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Osmotherly, p. 4, n. 1.

[3] On the 2nd mem. see p. 21, n. 2.

[4] 2nd mem. M.E. *rigge* (O.E. *hrycg*) ʿa ridge, a long and narrow stretch of elevated ground, range or chain of hills or mountainsʾ; or O.W.Scand. *hryggr* in a similar sense.

[5] The remaining part of the name seems to be made up of M.E. *sīke* (O.E. *sīc*) or O.W.Scand. *sík, síki:* trench, rill, ʿrivusʾ; and M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* ʿmoor, bog, swampʾ.

form and meaning of the name had sunk into oblivion. Was there an unrecorded O.W.Scand. or Celtic pers. name **Geitan* which was substituted for the former element? If such a name did exist, it might, of course, have entered into the name at its earliest stage. Cf. in Lind the pers. names terminating in *-an*.]

Geitentone, *Gadintone* North. DoB.; *Geytington, Geytinton* Surv. Hen. I.; *Geitentone* 1156–57 Pipe R., *Gaitinton* 1166-67 f. ibd., 1200 Ch. R. III; *Gadentonam* 1166-84 Ch. R. III; *Getintunam, Gaitintonam, Gaitigtone* 1189 ibd.; *Gaitington, Gaidington* t. Rich. I. Fount. Mem.; *Geitinton* 1199 A.Plac., 1235 Cl. R.; *Geitendone* c. 1210 Liber. rub.; *Geytinton, Gaytinton* 1200 Rot. Ch.; *Geytinton* 1234 f. Cl. R., 1252 Pat. R., 1266 C. Inq., Rot.H., Tax. eccl.; *Gaytingeton* 1252 Ch. R.; *Geitington* 1245 Guisbr. Ch., t. Edw. I. Cal. Inq.; *Getington* 1274 A.Plac.; *Geytington* 1283, 1331 f. Pat. R., 1292 f. Cl. R.; 1336 Cal. Inq.; *Geytyngdon* 1316 F.A.; *Geytingdon* 1324 Pat. R.; *Geytyngton* t. Edw. III. Plac. Warr.; *Getyngdon* 1339 Cl. R.; *Gedyngton* 1347, 1470 Pat. R., 1454 Cal. Inq.; etc., see further F.A. and Cal. Inq.; now Geddington.

1st mem. is probably a patronymic **Geitingr*, formed from the same stem as the O.W.Scand. man's name *Geiti* or *Geitir* (cf. O.Dan. *Geto*).[1] The O.Dan. place-name *Getinge* SRD. is derived by Hellqvist (p. 34) from a similar O.E.Scand. formation *Getinger;* for some other instances, on Swed. territory, see Hellqvist, l. c. As to the loss of the *g* in the form of DoB. see above under Fraisthorpe, p. 45.

Greibi, *Geresbi* Li. DoB.; *Greibi* l. 12. cent. Br.Mus., 1263 C. Inq.; *Greibye* 1210-12 Liber. rub; *Gratheby, Grayeby, Grayby, Greyby* Rot.H.; *Grayby* 1258 Ch. R.; *Gryby* 1279 C. Inq.; *Greyby* 1242 Li. rec., 1285 f. C. Inq., 1299 Pat. R., T.N., 1314 A.Plac., 1316 F.A., 1328 f. Cat.A.D, 1438 Br.Mus.; *Groby* 1483 Cal. Inq.; now Graby (nr. Dowsby).

Perhaps an original O.W.Scand. **Greiðabýr*, the 1st mem. of which would be the adjective *greiðr* 'ready, free' (Norw. dial. *greid*, Goth. *garaiþs* 'fixed, arranged', cf. O.E. *ʒeræde* < **garaiþjo* 'ready'), presumably employed here in gen. sing. of the weak declension as the surname of a person. The word is recorded

[1] On the 2nd mem. see p, 7, n. 1.

in O.W.Scand. in combinations such as *góðr ok greiðr* 'good and expedite', *greiðr ok góðviljugr* 'good and kind' (Vigf.). On the other hand we must not overlook the possibility that in the present case *greiðr* may have referred to some natural characteristic of the locality, though it is true the word is not known in the literature in any meaning that might reasonably fit in with that of the 2nd member, on which see p. 3, n. 2. Now there are in Norway several instances of a place-name **Greiðakrar* (or *-akr*) e. g. *J Græidakrom* E.J., etc., which, according to Rygh, N.G., seems to have meant 'fields (or a field) easy to cultivate'. Can the adjective in the case of *Greibi* have applied to a similar quality of the soil of the locality?

Greiðr appears as a loan-word in M.E, in the form *greith, grayth*, etc., 'prepared, ready, handy'; of some interest is the cognate verb O.W.Scand. *greiða* 'to arrange, disentangle, make or get ready', which is found in early M.E. as *græiðen*, etc., cf. the N.E.D. and Björkman, Loan-words, p. 43.

Gredbi, *Greibi* Li. DoB.; *Grebby* 1451 Cal. Inq.; now Grebby (Scremby par.). — 1st mem. as in preceding name.

Grenesbi Li. DoB.; *Gremesbi* Surv. 1118; *Greinesbi* l. 12. cent. Br.Mus., 1190 Ped. fin. Eb., 1196 Feet of fines; *Greinby* 1208 Li. rec.; *Grenesby* 1204 R. Pat., 1207 R.Oblat., 1251 Ch. R., 1268 Yo. inq.; *Grainesby* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Graymesby* 1287 A.Plac.; *Greyvesby* Tax. eccl.; *Greyneby, Greynnesby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Greynesby, Greymesby* T.N.; *Greynesby* 1280 C. Inq., 1303 f. F.A.; 1316 Pat. R., 1378 f. Cat.A.D., 1428 F.A., 1483 Pat. R.; *Graynesby* 1247 f. Yo. inq., 1297 Pat. R., 1314 C. Inq., 1315 Cl. R., 1377 Cal. Inq., 1316, 1431 F.A.; *Grainesby* 1421 Cal. Inq.; *Granesby* 1427 Pat. R.; *Greinesby, Granysby, Grymesby* 1428 F.A.; *Granysby* 1475, *Gwaynesby* 1484 Pat. R.; see further Cal. Inq.; now Grainsby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *grein* (O.E.Scand. *gren*) 'branch, bough', applied to a person as a surname.[1] On the occurrence of the word in this function in O.W.Scand. cf. Kahle in Ark. XXVI, p. 235. *Grayne*, which is found as a surname in the Yorkshire poll-tax of A.D. 1379 (Bardsley) and, according to Streatfeild, p. 310, in I.N. (1340), seems to be the same word.

[1] 2nd mem as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

— As for the etymology of *grein* see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 43, with references. The word occurs in some Norw. place-names, where it is supposed to denote a branch of a river, an arm of a marsh, etc. (N.G. III, 253, V, 178; cf. Steenstrup, Da. Stednavne, p. 93). It is possible that *grein* enters, in a similar sense, into the following North English place-names:

Greinegate Li.(?) 1225 Gray's Reg.[1]
Grainehou Yo. 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Hundmanby.[2]
Graynehowe Cumb. 1300, *Graynhow* 1305, etc. Cal. Inq.[2] Cf. also *Rycalvegrayne*, further on in this chapter.

Hagayl Wm. 1273 C. Inq.; *Hogayl* 1297, 1320 Pat. R., 1307 f. Lanc. Inq., 1309 C. Inq., 1322 Cal. Inq.; *Hogayl, Hugail* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Hogaill* 1374 Rot. Orig.; *Hogail* 1374 Cal. Inq.; *Hogille* 1413 f. ibd.; now Hugill (in Kendal).

2nd mem. was earliest O.W.Scand. *geil* 'a narrow glen'. Norw. dial. *geil;* N.E. dial. (Wm.) *gale* 'a place in the hollow of a hill'. The word is preserved in some other North English place-names, see *Gayle* (p. 46), *Scalegail* and Sleddale Gayle (further down in this chapter). In the case of Hugill,[3] the original *geil* was in the 15th cent. replaced by the cognate synonym O.W Scand. *gil* 'a cleft, fissure, narrow valley or glen' (see p. 19 n.), which word is frequently found among the place-names of Northern England; cf. below *Leirgile* and further in Part II, Scand. *g*.

Haresteinegate Yo. 1201 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Oulston, Coxwold par. Contains O.W.Scand. *steinn* 'stone, rock'.[4]

Helgebi, *Elgebi* Yo. DoB.; *Helghby* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; now Hellaby, a hamlet in the parish of Stainton (Tickhill).

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. personal name *Helgi, Heilgi*, or O.Dan. *Helghi,* O.Swed. *Hælghe, Helghe.*[5] As for its etymology

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *gata* 'road'.
[2] 2nd mem. perhaps O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'hill', etc., cf. p. 9, n. 1.
[3] 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *hár, hór* 'high'; see further Habrough, in Ch. 5.
[4] 1st mem. perhaps M.E. *hare* (O.E. *hara*) 'a hare'; 3rd mem. O.W.Scand. *gata* 'road'.
[5] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Some exact parallels to Hellaby are found in Norway, e. g. *Hælgœby* D.N. 5 (1341).

cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 67. The same name may constitute the 1st mem. of the following M.E. place-names:[1]

Hælgefeld, *Helgefeld, -felt* Yo. DoB.; *Helwefeld'* 1233 Cl. R.; *Helefeud* Kirkby; *Helghfelde* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Helgfeld, Elkefeld* 1314 C. Inq.; *Helgfeld* No. vill.; *Netherhelghfeld, -helfeld* 1325 Cl. R.; *Helyghfeld* 1378 Poll-tax; now Hellifield (in Long Preston par.).[2]

Elgelo Li. DoB.; *Helgelo, Helhelo* t. Hen. II, *Helgelo* a. 1217, e. Hen. III., *Helgeloe* e. 13. cent., Br.Mus.; *Helgelawe* 1251 Ch. R.; *Herelou* a. 1254, *Hellawe* 1290, Br.Mus.; *Helgelofe, Hellowe.* Rot.H.; *Hellowe* 1311, *Hellawe, Hellow* 1314 C. Inq.; *Heleloue, Helleloue;* 1314 Ch. R.; *Hellou* 1316 F.A.; *Hellowe* 1355, 1417 Br.Mus.; *Bellawe* 1428 F.A.; now Belleau.[3]

Halgatuna, *Halgatona, Helingetuna* Norf. DoB.; [*? Elchegeton* t. Rich. I. A.Plac.]; *Helgeton* t. John A.Plac., Tax. eccl. 1306 Cat.A.D., 1401 F.A.; *Helwetun, Heleweton, Heletune* Rot.H.; *Helgetone* 1342 Pat.R.; *Helgheton* 1302 f., 1428 F.A., 1334 Norf. Ass.; now Hillington (by Norwich).[4]

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[1] These names can contain also the O.W.Scand. adj. *heilagr* 'holy' (O.Swed. *helagher*), out of which *Helgi* was developed. How far we might be justified in deriving them, instead, from the M.E. continuation of O.E. *hāliȝ*, which is recorded only as *hēli*, seems impossible to decide, in view of the little known as yet about the occurrence of this form in the several dialects.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'. Cf. the O.Norw. *Hælgaland* E.J.

[3] As will be seen from the spellings quoted, the common French place-name element *bel* was substituted for the 1st mem. in the beginning of the 15th century; the rest of the name seems to have been Frenchified in the N.E. period. In its new shape the name answers well to the natural features of the place it covers. It is stated by Streatfeild that the spot is marked by some 'clear and plentiful springs'. Close to it flows a stream, on which, not far from Belleau, stands a village with the Scand. name Aby. — The 2nd mem. seems in its earliest form to have been O.W.Scand. *lǫ́* 'a low-lying meadow by the water-side', which word is found in not a few O.Norw. local names. See Fritzner, and Rygh, Indl. Later on it was obviously changed for the more familiar M.E. place-name terminal *-law, -low;* cf. above p. 4 n. 2, and 26 n. 2.

[4] As for 2nd mem. see p. 7, n. 1. Etymologically the same name can be the Norw. *Helgetun* (Rygh, Personnavne, p. 125).

Helgatuna, *Helgetuna, Hælgatuna, Halgetuna* Norf. DoB.; *Helgetun* c. 1150 Br.Mus.; *Helewetone* 1156-57 Liber rub.; *Helghetun* 1202 f. Cal. fin.; *Helegheton, Helege-, Helegh-* 1272 Ch. R.; *Helgotone, Helgeton* Tax. eccl.; *Helegheton, Heleweton, Helhethon* Rot. H.; *Helgheton* 1316 F.A., 1325 f. Cl. R.; 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Helghton* 1319 f. Cl. R.; *Helgton* 1346, *Helweton* 1302, 1428 F.A.; see further Cat. A.D. and Cal. Inq.; now Helhoughton.[1]

Helegeton Yo. 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Helgeton* 1201 Rot. Canc.; cannot be identified.[1]

O.W.Scand. **heimr** in M.E. place-names.

The numerous Norwegian place-names which contain as 2nd member O.W.Scand. *heimr* 'home, homestead' (O.Swed., O.Dan. *hem*, O.E. *hām*, Goth. *haims*) have been inquired into by Rygh (Indl. p. 54) and by Andreas Hansen (Landnåm i Norge). These two scholars agree on the point that the *-heim*-names mark a very early stage of the making of the O.Norw. local nomenclature; according to Hansen they would constitute a stratum which covered a period previous to the Viking Age. In fact, the name-giving process in the course of which such names were being produced, would have come to an end long before the beginning of the 9th century.

This theory is based to some extent on the observation that, as Rygh puts it, no *-heim*-names seem to occur among the settlements founded by the Norwegians in the West. Still R. has to admit that there are a few instances in Iceland; it may be added that, besides, some are found in the Shetlands, which have been discussed by Jakobsen (Shetl. Stednavne, pp. 69, 104). J. appears to believe that they date from the time about 700 or earlier; he gives no historical evidence in support of his assumption, which is founded entirely on the calculations of Rygh.[2]

That, however, *heimr* survived as a living place-name element during the Viking Age, although gradually passing out of use, is clearly shown by the existence of a number of *-heim*-names in Scand. England. Most of these belong to Lancashire and York-

[1] As for 2nd mem. see p. 7, n. 1. Etymologically the same name can be the Norw. *Helgetun* (Rygh, Personnavne, p. 125).

[2] About the O.Dan. place-names terminating in the corresponding word we know as yet very little. They seem to be comparatively few in number; cf. Steenstrup, Indledende Studier, p. 72 f.

shire and are, judging by their first members, undoubtedly of O.W.Scand. origin. But in all probability there were at one time more names of this description in Scand. England than those which have come down to us in a more or less transparent Scand. form. For it is obvious that *-heim(r)* as a place-name terminal was apt to be very soon anglicized to *-ham*, in consequence of the levelling influence of the many native names compounded with O.E. *-hām* which were in existence at the arrival of the new settlers. Indeed, if a M.E. place-name terminating in *-ham* and belonging to a pronouncedly Scand. county, exhibits as 1st member a Scand. word, there is strong reason for suspecting that the name as a whole was coined by the Scandinavians and thus originally contained Scand. *-heim*. When, e. g. we find the names *Ascam* Yo. DoB., *Askham* No. vill., etc. (now Askham Brian and A. Richard near York), or *Askham* Nott. 1283 Ch. R., etc. (now Askham), there can be very little doubt that either of the two represents an O.W.Scand. type **Askheimr*, of which several examples can be quoted from ancient Norway (see N.G. I, II, VI). Another instance connected with this is *Cletham* Li. DoB., Surv. 1118, 1303 F.A., etc. (now Cleatham in Manton), the 1st mem. of which is O.W.Scand. *klettr* 'a rock, cliff'. That, conversely, in counties where the Scandinavian element of the population had become paramount, as, e. g. in Lincolnshire, the *-hām* of the native names was occasionally Scandinavianized to *-heim*, is evidenced by the material dealt with below, p. 62 f.

Hence it will be readily understood that if in the case of some English name terminating in -ham, one or more M.E. spellings with Scand. *-heim* are recorded, we are often at a loss when confronted with the problem whether the name in its earliest form was an English or a Scandinavian product. The only criterion we have then to go upon is the quality of the 1st member. If this turns out to be a Scand. word, the name in its entirety is certainly to be regarded as Scand., more particularly if exact parallels to it can be adduced from Scandinavia. Very intricate are those cases in which the 1st member can represent a native word as well as its Scand. equivalent, since the two sometimes coincide in form. Provided no further instances of such names are found out of Scand. England, they may be said to be presumably of Scand. origin. More doubtful are compounds consisting of a river-name + *heim*, *ham*, seeing that formations of that type were no less usual in Scandinavia than they were in England. When such names

appear in regions the local nomenclature of which is in other respects conspicuously Scandinavian, they may be looked upon as possibly created by Scandinavians.

According to the principles that have now been roughly laid down, the following cases may be taken into consideration:

Biscopham Lanc. DoB., 1196 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Biscopheyma* 1216 Br.Bus.; *Biscopheym* e. 13th cent. Cockersand ch., Mon. VI,2; now Bispham (in Amounderness).[1]

Evreshaim Wm. DoB.; *Euereshеim* t. John Br.Mus., 13th cent.(?) Wetherhal Reg., Mon. III; *Euеresham* e. 13th cent. Br.Mus.; *Heverseym* 1316 Lanc. Priv. deeds; now Heversham.[2]

Fossham, *Fosham* Yo. DoB.; *Fosseym* Kirkby; *Fossham* No. vill.; *Fossam* 1343 Cl. R.; now Fosham.[3]

Hacberdingehā, *Hacberdinghā, Haberdingha* Li. DoB.; *Hagwordingheheim, Agwordingheheim* Surv. 1118; *Hagwordhinghame* Rot. Hug.; *Hagwurthingham, Hagwedhingham* Rot. H.; *Hagworthingham* Tax. eccl., 1340 Pat. R., 1316 f. F.A., 1330 C. Inq.;

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[1] 1st mem. is probably O.Scand. *biskop* (O.E., M.E *biscop*) 'bishop'. The word was also used as a surname, see F. JÓNSSON, Tilnavne, p. 293. The present form Bispham appears, in connection with pers. names, as early as A.D. 1288 onwards, cf. the instances quoted by BARDSLEY. He gives as a variant of the present name also Biscomb. Provided this form reflects some ancient pronunciation on the spot, it presupposes that the internal *-sc-* of the M.E. spellings was sounded [sk]. For only if such was the case could the latter portion of the name be popularly associated with and supplanted by N.E. coomb < O.E. *cumb* 'small valley, hollow'; see further N.E.D.

[2] From a phonological point of view the 1st mem. can represent O.W.Scand. *ioforr, iafurr* 'boar, prince', as well as O.E. *eofor* 'boar'. However, it would seem that the word occurs here as a personal name; if that is so, it is most probably of Scand. origin (O.W.Scand. *Jǫfurr*, O.Swed. *Jafur*). For if SEARLE is to be trusted, O.E. *Eofor* is recorded solely in Beowulf as the name of a *Geate* and is apparently the Scand. name in O.E. disguise. Scandinavian are also the two Yorkshire placenames *Eurebi* and *Euertorp* DoB., but not *Jaforbe* ibid., as is wrongly conjectured by BJÖRKMAN (Personennamen, p. 71). This is a misspelling for *Jaforde* (now Yafforth), which form is found a little further down in the record.

[3] In Aldbrough parish, not far from the Lambwath Stream. 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *foss* (< *fors* through assimilation; O.Swed., e. Dan. *fors*) 'a waterfall'. Many instances of the name occur in Norway, e. g. *Fosseim* E.J.; cf. further N.G. II.

Hacwaringham 1338 Pat. R.; *Haworthingham* 1346 F.A.; now Hagworthingham.[1]

Holam, *Holun* Yo. DoB.; *Halaym, Holume* 1259 Yo. inq.; *Holaym* 1267-76 N.Reg., l. Hen. III. Yo. doc., 1297 Yo. Subs., No. vill., 1338 f. Cl. R., 1342 f. Pat. R., 1352 Br.Mus., Cal. inq. da.; *Holeym* 1322 f., 1382 Pat. R., 1323 Cal. inq. da.; *Holem* 1338 Cl. R., 1338 f., 1394 Pat. R.; *Holym* 1339 Pat. R.; *Holein* 1353 Pat. R.; *Holyme* 1396 Pat. R., 1476 Br.Mus.; now Hollym.[2]

[**Holthā** Li. DoB.; *Holteim* Surv. 1118; *Holthaim* 1163 Br.Mus.; *Holtham* 1255 Ch. R., 1. 13th cent. Br.Mus., 1316 f. F.A.; now Haltham upon Bain.][3]

Chircheham Lanc. DoB.; *Kirkeheim* 1196 Feet of fines, 1238 Gray's Reg.; *Kirkcheym* 1241 Gray's Reg., 1247 Pat. R.; *Kyrkeym* 1242 Lanc. Inq.; *Kyrkhaym* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Kyrkheym* 1246 Lanc. Fin. Conc. (bis); *Kircheym, Kircham,* 1251 Pat. R.; *Kyrkhem* 1257 C. Inq.; *Kirkeham* 1257 Pat. R., 1279 Cl. R., etc.; *Kirkheym* 1258 Pat. R.; *Kirkehaym* 1319 Pat. R.; now Kirkham (in Amounderness).[4]

Clapeham Yo. DoB.; *Clephaim, Clapaim* 1160-89 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Clapham* No. vill.; now Clapham.[5]

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[1] As far as the evidence of DoB. goes, the 1st mem. was originally a patronymic derivative in *-ing*, from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hagbarðr*, O.Dan. *Hagbarth*, O.Swed. *Haghbardh*. The place-name may have been formed on the analogy of the well-known native type represented by such names as O.E. *Cynelmingham* Wilt. THORPE, Dipl. p. 149 (901), < O.E. *Cynehelm; Ecgwulfingham* Nhb. Simeon of Durham, Hist. Dunelm. ecclesiæ, < O.E. *Ecgwulf*, etc. Still this explanation of Hagworthingham is rendered somewhat uncertain by the differing spellings in post-Domesday records, if we do not choose to assume that the name actually underwent certain arbitrary alterations in the corresponding period.

[2] 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *hol* 'a hollow, cavity', or the adjective *holr* 'hollow'. The same name is frequently met with in Norway: *Holeimr* D.N. 2 (1304), *a Holœimi* ibd. 5 (1347), etc.

[3] 1st mem. is either O.W.Scand. *holt* 'stony rising ground, mostly covered with wood' (FRITZNER), O.Dan. *holt,* O.Swed. *hult,* or O.E. *holt* 'a wood, grove, copse'. Haltham lies in a district the local names of which are almost exclusively Scandinavian in form.

[4] 1st mem. is most probably O.W.Scand. *kyrkia, kirkia* 'church' (cf. Kirkdale, p. 11), seeing that the place belongs to a conspicuously Scand. district that was populated by the Northmen at a very early date.

[5] 1st mem. seems to be O.W.Scand. *klǫpp* f. 'a pier-like rock projecting into the sea' (VIGF.), in the present case apparently with the

[**Cocreham** Lanc. DoB.; *Kokerheim* 1206, *Cokerheim* 1207 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Kokerhaim* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; now Cockerham (in Lonsdale).][1]

[**Covreham** Yo. DoB.; *Couerhaim* 1176-77 Pipe R.; *Coverham* Kirkby, No. vill., etc.; now Coverham.][2]

Tathaim Lanc. DoB.; *Tatham* Tax. eccl., etc.; now Tatham (in Lonsdale).[3]

An examination of the names just given will show that sporadic Scand. forms *-heim, -haim* were able to maintain themselves, by the side of the native ones, from DoB. down to the beginning of the 14th century, or even longer. DoB. displays, except in a few cases, native forms, which are in the majority also in subsequent records. The only exceptions to this rule are Hollym and Kirkham, of which Scand. spellings prevail till a relatively late date. In the above material, I have, for the purpose of saving space, confined myself to giving all the Scand. spellings supplied by my sources, but only one or two of the earliest native ones.

For the same reason I have thought fit not to enter at length upon the Scandinavianized forms of native English *-hām*-names that are occasionally met with in some early M.E. records. Of particular interest, in this respect, is the Lincolnshire survey of the time of Henry I. Here the Scandinavian *-heim* is repeatedly substituted for *-ham* in names of unmistakeably native origin. By way of examples may be mentioned *Aluingheheim*, now Al-

same general meaning as the related O.W.Scand. *kleppr* 'a rock'. The place is situated in the most mountainous part of the West Riding. In O.W.Scand., *klǫpp* denoted, moreover, a kind of bridge, roughly built of stones or tree-trunks, and thrown over a small water-course or a fen, in which sense the word is recorded in some O.Norw. place-names, see Rygh, Indl., and N.G. XV, p. 312. The site of Clapham on a small tributary to the river Wenning does not tell against the assigning of such a meaning to the 1st mem.; still I hold the former explanation to be preferable.

[1] 1st mem. is the name of the river Cocker (written *Cocur* 930 York. Hist.), near which the place is situated.

[2] 1st mem. is the name of the river Cover, by which the parish is traversed.

[3] 1st mem. is a man's name, perhaps O.Swed. *Tatr* (see Liljegren, Run-Urkunder, p. 16) or O.Dan. *Tati*, less probably O.E. *Tata*. The latter name is recorded in some South Engl. place-names: *Tatanham, Tatanbeorh*, see the Index of C.D.

vingham (from a patronymic derivative in *-ing* of the O.E. man's name *Ælf, Ælfa*), and the similar formations *Wadingheheim*, now Waddingham (O.E. *Wada*); *Wiflingeheim*, now Willingham by Stow (O.E. *Wifel*); *Hamringheheim*, now Hammeringham (O.E. *hamor*, perhaps in the sense of stone, rock), etc. Isolated Scand. spellings of some other names will be found in DoB. and H. Pipe R. (Yorkshire), Lanc. Priv. deeds, Lanc. Fin. Conc. (Lancashire), and Br.Mus. (Lincolnshire). The present Reepham Li. occurs in DoB. as *Refaim*. which looks like a Scandinavianized form of an O.E. **[ȝe]rēf-ham* 'the reeve's close'; cf. O.E. *ȝerēfmæd* 'the reeve's meadow', and some other compounds given in Bosworth-Toller. All 12th and 13th cent. records have *Refham*. With regard to the form of the name *Odingehem* DoB., see in Ch. 4, under *Oldebi*.

Heimesbei, *Hemesbei, Hamesbei, Himesbei* Norf. DoB.; *Hemesby* c. 1100 Norwich Reg., Mon. IV, 1103-6 f. Br.Mus., 1248 Ch. R., 1283 f. Pat. R., 1285 Cal. fin., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1316 F.A., etc.; *Hemesbi* 1199 A.Plac.; *Hemisby* Rot. H.; *Hemysby* Tax. eccl.; *Hemmesbi* 1375 Cat. A.D.; now Hemsby.

1st mem. is an unrecorded O.E.Scand. personal name, O.Swed. **Hemer*, O.Dan. **Hemær* (O.W.Scand. *Heimir*), which forms are given by Lundgren and Nielsen on the evidence of some place-names, into which they seem to enter. An exact parallel to the M.E. *Hemesby* is the O.Swed. place-name *Hemisby*, mentioned by Lundgren.[1]

Hedebi Li. DoB.; *Heidebi* 1125-28 L. Niger S.P.; *Haytheby* 1304 Cal. Inq., 1352 Selby Ch., 1405 Pat. R.; *Keteby* 1316 F.A., 1424 Cal. Inq.; now Keadby.

1st mem. is O.Dan. *hethæ* or O.Swed. *hēþ* (O.W.Scand. *heiðr*, O.E. *hāþ*) 'a heath'. Etymologically the same names are the O.Swed. *hedheby* 1323 S.D. III, O.Dan. *Hetheby* LCD., and O.W.Scand. *Heiderby* D.N. 4 (1341), etc. It may be pointed out, in passing, that the M.E. *Haythaby* in the Chronicle of Ethelwerd, referred to by Björkman, Loan-words p. 38, does not belong to English territory, but is identical with the name just quoted from LCD.[1]

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

Hesteskeith, *Hestescaith* Yo. t. Hen. II. Rievaulx Ch.; *Hesteskeid, Hestechait, Hestelscaith, -sceit, Hescaid*, 12. cent. ibid., *Hestescheith* 1160 (Papal confirm.), *Heste[l]scarth* 1189 (the copy in Pat. R., 3 Rich. I., has *Hestescaith*) ibid., *Hestscayth* 13. cent., *Heskayth* 1272 ibid.; *Hestescarth* 1252, *Heyscayth* 1268 Ch. R.; *Heskayth* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Heskethe* 1542 N.C. wills; now Hesketh (Grange), near Boltby.

From O.W.Scand. *hestaskeið* 'a race-course', the compound being made up of *hestr* (O.Swed. *hæster*, O.Dan. *hæst*) 'a horse', and *skeið*, on which see above p. 29, under Brunstock. The name is of unmistakeably W.Scand. origin; the same formation is represented by the O.Norw. place-name *Hæsta skæidi* E.J. Other instances occur in Lancashire and Cumberland as

Heskaith Lanc. 1310 C. Inq.; *Heskaith* 1327, *Heskeith* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; now Becconsall with Hesketh.

Heskaith Cumb. 1337, [*Heskacch* 1329], *Heskey* 1369 f. Rot. Orig.; *Haskethes* 1394, *Hesket* 1403, *Haskethes, Hesketh, Hesket* 1404, *Hesketz* 1412 f., Pat. R.; now High & Low Hesket.[1]

Hilgertorp, *Hilgretorp* Yo. DoB.; *Hildertorp* 1128-32 Br.Mus., 12. cent. Bridlington Reg., Mon. VI; *Hilderthorp* 12. cent. Bridl. Reg., Mon. VI, Kirkby, 1316 Cal. inq. da.; *Hildrethorpe* 1302, *Helderthorpe* 1305, *Hilderthorpe* 1307, Cal Inq.; *Hilderton* No. vill.; now Hilderthorpe.

As may be inferred from the spellings of DoB., the 1st mem. was originally the O.Dan. personal name *Hildeger*. It is recorded in M.E. as *Hilgerus*, c. 1200 Rievaulx Ch.[2]

Holande, *Holan* Yo. DoB.; *Holandeswayn* 1266 Yo. inq.; *Holaunt Swayne* 1297 A.Plac.; *Holand Swaynne* 1378 Poll-tax.; *Holanswayne* No. vill., 1465 Pat. R.; *Holandswayne* 1465 Pat. R.; now Hoyland Swaine.

To the native formation *Holand* was added, in post-Domesday times, the O.W.Scand. personal name *Sveinn* (see further below under the place-names beginning with this word), probably the name of some important land-holder on the spot. This was done

[1] The present name Hesket Newmarket in Cumberland, of which I have not come across any M.E. forms, may be of the same origin.

[2] as for 2nd mem. see above p. 4, n. 3.

apparently with a view to distinguishing the name from those of the neighbouring places High Hoyland, and Hoyland in Wath.

Humbrestone Li. DoB.; *Humberstein* Surv. 1118, 1179-80 Pipe R., Wells' Vic. book; *Humbersteyn* 1258 Pat. R.; *Humberistain* 1258 C. Inq.; *Humberstayn* 1265 Cal. Inq.; *Humbersteyn, -stan* Tax. eccl.; *Humberstayn, Humberston* T.N.; *Humberstan* 1272 C. Inq., Rot.H., 1303 f., 1401 F.A.; *Ubirston* 1303 F.A.; *Humberstayne* 1331 Pat. R.; *Humbersteyne* 1428 F.A.; now Humberstone.

The village of H. stands near the Humber, from which it derives the 1st mem. of its name. 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *steinn* 'stone, rock'. To what particular natural feature the word was applied in the present case I am unable to tell. Strange to say, the same place-name re-appears in Leicestershire, where it belongs to a village about 2 miles N.E. of Leicester: *Humerstan* DoB. *Humberstay* 1124 Le. Survey; *Humberstayn* Tax. eccl.; *Humberston* 1271 C. Inq.; Rot. H., etc.; now Humberstone. As far as I am aware, no reasonable attempt at accounting for the appearance of this name so far from the Humber has as yet been made. Historical evidence seems to be lacking. It looks as though the former (Li.) name had been transplanted into Leicestershire by settlers coming from the parts of Lincolnshire that abut on the Humber.

[**Hunswanby** Cumb. t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; now Hunsonby.
1st mem. is possibly the anglicized form of an unrecorded O.W.Scand. personal name **Húnsveinn*.][1]

Isleuestuna Suff. DoB. Now lost?
1st mem. is an unrecorded O.E.Scand. personal name **Islef*, the equivalent of O.W.Scand. *Ísleifr*.[2]

Cangemanstayn ('*pratum*') Yo. 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Osgodby (par. of Seamer).
2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *steinn* 'stone rock'.[3]

Kexeby Yo. t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1278 f. Ch. R., 1298 Pat. R., 1314 Cal. Inq., No. vill.; *Kexebye* 1289 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Kexby* Kirkby, 1347 Cal. Rot. Ch., etc.; now Kexby.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.
[2] As for 2nd mem. see above p. 7, n. 1.
[3] 1st mem. apparently a man's name, of unknown extraction.

1st mem. seems to be O.W.Scand. *keikr* 'bent backwards, the belly jutting forwards', here used as a surname.[1] Fritzner gives two instances of the word in that function, and also two place-names in which it occurs. As to the M.E. form of Kexby, the diphthong *ei* may have been shortened according to the sound-law given by Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 123. Compare *Kexthwayt*, under *þveit* at the end of this chapter.

Keilmerse, *Cailmarc* North. DoB.; *Keylmers* Surv. Hen. I., 1208 f. Br.Mus., 1266 C. Inq.; *Chailesmers* c. 1150-60 Br.Mus.; *Keilmers* 1199 Liber rub., l. 12. cent. Br.Mus., 1208 Rot. Ch., etc.; *Kailmers* e. 13. cent. Br.Mus., 1233 Bracton; *Keyl-*, *Keylemers* T.N.; *Keylmershe* 1308 Rot. Orig., 1316, 1428 F.A.; *Keyllemerssh* 1326 Cl. R.; *Keylemerssh* 1390 Pat. R.; *Kelmersh* 1493, *Kelmarssh* 1496 C. Inq.; now Kelmarsh.

I have found no native word from which the 1st mem. might be reasonably explained. Perhaps it represents an unrecorded O.W.Scand. word **keill*, or the recorded *keila* 'a rift, rent, cleft, fissure', in Norw. place-names often used of 'a narrow strait or inlet' (Rygh, Indl.).[2] The word seems also to have meant 'cunnus'; cf. Fritzner. Norw. dial. *keila* is applied, moreover, to 'a shallow branch of a river or a pool left by an inundation' (Ross). O.W.Scand. **keill* may have shared most of these meanings. For the existence of, at all events, either of the two words in M.E. speaks, to some extent, N.E. dial. *keill* (only in Yo.) 'a triangular bit of ground, a gore'. Of other related words may be mentioned O.W.Scand. *keilir* m. (or *keili* n.) 'a wedge' (explained thus by Vigf.; the word is recorded only as a term for a certain part of a ship or ship-rigging, unknown which; cf. Fritzner). Further O.W.Scand. *kíll* 'a narrow bay'; O.Swed. *iærnkil* 'an iron wedge'; Norw. dial. *kile* 'a wedge, narrow triangular piece'. Dan. *kil* occurs in several place-names, where, according to Steenstrup, Da. Stednavne, p. 97, it signifies 1) a narrow bay, 2) a narrow strip of land. The primary sense of all these words must have been 'a wedge or wedge-shaped piece'. Compare O.W.Scand. *geiri*, with cognate words in the Teutonic languages, above p. 46.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.E. *mersc* 'marsh'; as to the spelling *-marc* in DoB. cf. Zachrisson, p. 38.

Cheilestorne, *Chelestorne* Li. DoB.; *Kelesterna* 1154-58 Ch. R. III.; *Kelesterne* t. Hen. II. Br.Mus., 1268 Ch. R.; *Keylesterne* 1226 Li. rec.; *Kaylsterne* 1209 (Inspex. 1252), *Calestern* 1251, *Keilesterne, Keyles-, Kelesterne* 1314 Ch. R.; *Kelsterne* 1316 F.A., 1342 Pat. R., 1369 Rot. Orig.; *Kelstron*, etc. 1485 C. Inq.; now Kelstern.

1st member may be O.W.Scand. *keilir* (see preceding name), in the present case probably employed as a surname or nickname.[1] Adjacent to the boundaries of Kelstern lies the parish of Calcethorpe, which name, in its M.E. form, shows the very same word as 1st member. Which of the two names originally designated the earlier settlement, from which the other place subsequently took the first part of its name, it is impossible to decide. Streatfeild (p. 204) thinks the 1st member of Calcethorpe to be O.W.Scand. *kelda* 'a spring', which derivation is altogether untenable in the face of the following M.E. spellings:

Caletorp DoB., 1. Hen. II. Br.Mus.; *Cheilestorp* Surv. 1118; *Keyles-, Kelles-, Kaistorp* c. 1230 Li. rec.; *Keylestorp* Rot. Hug., 1248 C. Inq.; *Calestorp* 1251 Ch. R.; *Kayllestorp* 1274 Br.Mus.; *Keyles-, Caylesthorp* Rot. H.; *Keiles-, Kaylestorp* 1314 Ch. R.; *Keyllesthorpe* 1314 Pat. R.; *Keilesthorp* 1315 Cl. R.; *Kaylesthorp* 1325 Rot. Orig., 1430 Pat. R., etc.

Clayf Lanc. 1336, 1400 Furness Ch.; now Claife.

From O.W.Scand. *kleif* 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (Vigf.). Frequent in O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Klæif* E.J. O.Swed. *klēf* 'a steep but ascendable hill or mountain-slope', recorded in place-names. Cf. Raincliff, below, p. 74.

Cheneide Li. DoB.; *Cneye* 1227, *Chneya* 1268 Ch. R.; *Kneye, Knaye* 1272 f. C. Inq.; *Kney* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus., Rot. H.; *Kneyth* Tax. eccl., 1347 Pat. R.; *Kneythe, Knaith* 1348 Cl. R.; *Knayth* 1316 F.A., I.N., 1348 f. Pat. R., 1351 Cl. R., 1368 Cat.A.D.; *Kneth, Knayth* 1428 F.A.; *Knath* 1530 Cat.A.D.; now Knaith.

[1] 2nd mem. perhaps O.W.Scand. *tiǫrn* (gen. *tiarnar*) 'a small lake, pool of water'; N.E. dial. *tarn* (in use only in the north and in Dev.) 'a small mountain lake, deep pool, a sheet of water fed by many small streams', etc. The place is situated close to the sources or superior course of the river Bain.

From O.W.Scand. **kné-eið*, the 2nd member being *eið* (O.Swed. *ēþ*) 'an isthmus, neck of land' (Vigf.), a place at a river which he who sails up or down the river has to cross on foot, in consequence of the river being unnavigable at that spot; cf. Rygh, Indl. The parish of Knaith is situated on the river Trent near where it forms a bend, almost at right angles; to this bend was probably applied the word suggested above as 1st member: *kné* 'knee'. Illustrative parallels to the name are not wanting on Scand. territory. It may suffice to mention the Norw. place-name *Knedal*, in which the *kné* of the 1st mem. seems to refer to a sharp bend of a neighbouring river; see Rygh, Indl. p. 61, and N.G. XVI, p. 256. On the A.N. spelling *Chene-* in DoB. see Zachrisson, p. 150; on the loss of *ð* in the 13th cent. forms, ibid. p. 90 f.

Colestainthorpe Yo. 1249 Yo. inq. Not identifiable. Near Wressell?

1st mem. is an unrecorded O.W.Scand. man's name **Kolsteinn*, corresponding to O.Swed. *Kolsten*.[1]

Hotun Yo. DoB.; **Colswamhoton** 1201 Rot. Ch.; *Colsueynhaton* 1226 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Colswanhoton* 1279 Yo. inq.; *Colsweinhoton* T.N.; *Hoton Coleswayn* Kirkby; *Colswayn Hoton* 1292 Cl. R.; *Houton Colsweyn* 1304 Ch. R.; *Hoton Colswayn* 1301 Yo. Subs., 1344 Pat. R.; *Nether hoton* 1309 Ch. R.; *Hoton super Derwent* No. vill.; *Hoton Colswayne* 1391 Pat. R.; now Low Hutton, or H. upon Derwent.

The distinguishing adjunct, which occurs appended to the original name in some M.E. spellings after Domesday, is the O.W.Scand. man's name **Kolsveinn* (or *Kollsveinn*), O.Dan. *Kolswen*. This name appears several times in DoB. (see Björkman, Personennamen), and as *Colsueyn* in Inq. El., Cambr. As early as the Domesday period there were in Yorkshire numerous places called *Hotun*, as may be seen from the Index locorum in Skaife's edition of Kirkby's Inquest for that county. — The same man's name enters into

Colswaynthorp Yo. 1345 Cl. R. Not identifiable. Near Hollym?[1]

[**Kreich**, *Kreic, Creic, Creich, Crehic, Suth Creich* Norf. DoB.; *Crek* 1175-76 Pipe R., 1227 Gray's Reg.; *Creik* 1196, *Sudcrek*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

1198, *North Crek* 1241 etc. Cal. fin., 1282 Br.Mus.; *Nortcreyk* 1288 C. Inq.; *Suthcreyk* 1302 F.A., 1350 Pat. R.; *Northcreyk, -crek* 1302, *Northcreyke* 1316 F.A.; *Suthcrek* 1327 Pat. R.; *Northcreyk, Creek* 1330 Cl. R.; *Suthcreyke* 1306 f. Pat. R., 1316 F.A., 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Creyk* 1324 f., 1412 Pat. R.; *South Creyk* 1346, 1401 F.A., etc.; *North Creyk* 1346 Norf. Aid, 1428 F.A., etc.; *Creeke* 1434 Pat. R; now North and South Creake.

There seems to be no English word on record from which this name could be explained. Provided it is not of Celtic extraction, it might be from a lost O.W.Scand. **kreik,* meaning a turn or winding of a stream or river. As is shown by the map, the parishes of South and North Creake are traversed by a small winding stream.[1] O.W.Scand. **kreik* would be related by ablaut to the O.W.Scand. *krikr* which enters into several O.Norw. place-names in the sense of a bend, nook; in some cases Rygh states it to refer to a place encompassed on three sides by the winding of a river. A cognate formation is O.W.Scand. *kriki,* with much the same sense; both these words are found in the local nomenclature of the Shetlands, where, according to Jakobsen, they signify 'a narrow valley, bend or inlet'. A N.E. continuation of **kreik* is perhaps N.E. dial. *creyke* (known merely from the Lake district) 'a nook or opening formed in the sand of marshes by the tide'. Allied words occur in some other Teutonic languages: cf. M.E. *krike, creke,* N.E. creek, with a rich variety of meanings (see N.E.D.), Dutch *kreek,* earlier *krēke* 'a bay', East Fries. (Doornkaat Koolman's Wörterbuch) *krêk[e], krîk[e],* etc., 'kleiner sich schlängelnder Fluss oder Bach'. All this word-family is ranged by Fick (Indogerm. Wörterbuch) under a root **krik,* closely allied with **krek,* and signifying 'sich krümmen, biegen'.

In the Furness district of Lancashire we find the so-called Crake valley, through which flows, with a very tortuous course, the river Crake. This name is written *Crayke, Crec* t. Hen. II., *Craic* 1196, *Crayc, Crayk, Craik* 13. cent., *Craik* 14. cent. (?), *Crayk* 1412 Furness Ch.; *Craike, Craik* 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI,1, and may possibly represent O.W.Scand. **kreik,* here applied to a river like the above-mentioned East Fries. word. With regard to the form and meaning of this name compare such O.Norw.

[1] The form *Crek* with *ē*-vowel, which occurs by the side of the diphthong throughout the M.E. period, may depend on O.E.Scand. influence. Local pronunciation [krẹ̄k], and [krīk], the latter probably a spelling pronunciation.

river-names as **Veik* (*veikr* 'weak, easily bent'; *vík* 'a creek, inlet, bend of a river'; *víkia* 'to turn, veer') **Reið* (*reiðr* 'a-wry, contorted, *ríða* 'to writhe, twist, wind') both pertaining to rivers with a meandering course; for further instances see Rygh, Elvenavne. The Furness district abounds with Scand. place-names of every description; there we also meet with the river-name Brathay (see p. 27), and the lake-name *Thurstaineswater*, for which see further on, p. 96. — From O.W.Scand. **kreik* might be, moreover, the place-name

Creic Yo. C.S. 1255 (A.D. 966×992), DoB., 1174 York Hist., LVD., 1229 Cl. R.; *Craik* 1175-76 Pipe R.; *Creik* 1227 Pat. R.; *Creyke* 1244 Yo. inq.; *Creyk* Tax. eccl., 1295, 1350 Pat. R., 1292 f., 1346 Cl. R.; *Crayk* 1309 Pat. R.; *Crake* 1470 ib.; now Craike.

The village of Craike stands on a small, isolated hill, at the foot of which flows the river Foss with many bends and turns.]

Levesbi Li. DoB., 1130 H. Pipe R.; *Leuesbi* t. Hen. I., see Inspex. 1403 Pat. R.; *Leisebi* t. Stephen (see 1394 Pat. R.), t. Hen. II. (see 1461 Pat. R.); *Laifsebi* t. Hen. II. Br.Mus.; *Leusebi* 1155 H. Pipe R.; *Leissebi* 1167-68 Pipe R.; *Lesseby* 1227 f. Ch.; R.; *Leyseby* a. 1239 Br.Mus., Rot. H., 1290 Yo. inq., etc.; *Laysby*, *Laysseby* 1239 Br.Mus.; *Leysebi*, *Laysebi* c. 1258 C. Inq.; *Leisseby* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Leyssceby* 1281 Cl. R., *Leseby* 1282 ibd. *Laisseby*, *Leisse-*, *Leseby* T.N.; *Leisceby* 1316 F.A.; *Laysceby* 1334, *Leysceby* 1335 C. Inq.; *Layceby* 1386 Li. wills[1]; *Laycebye* 1401 F.A.; now Laceby.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Leifr*, O.Dan. **Lew* (see next name).[1] Compare the O.Norw. place-name *Læifsbø* E.J., etc.

Luvestorp Le. DoB.; *Levestorp* Rot. H.. *Levithorp* 1301 Cl. R.; *Levisthorpe* 1334 Cat.A.D.; *Leuesthorp* 1316 F.A., 1347 Cl. R.; *Levesthorpe* 1428 F.A.; now Leesthorpe (in Pickwell).

1st mem. is the O.Dan. man's name **Lew* (O.W.Scand. *Leifr*), according to Nielsen preserved only in the place-name *Lefsthorp* LCD., the exact equivalent of the M.E name under notice.[2] Cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 90.[3]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] Perhaps a patronymic derivative of **Lew* forms the 1st mem. of the name *Levingthorp* Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch., 1278 Yo. inq., Kirkby, No. vill., etc., *Leventhorp* 1349 Yo. deeds; now Linthorpe. Cf. also *Levyngtoft* Li. 1327 Cat.A.D., dealt with in Ch. 7.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

Lechestorp Yo. DoB.; *Laysthorp, Laisthorp* Kirkby; *Laisthorp* No. vill.; *Leysthorpe* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; now Laysthorpe. 1st mem. may be the O.W.Scand. man's name *Leikr*, O.E.Scand. *Lek*.[1]

Leikethaites, see under *pveit*, end of this chapter.

Leyrbrec Lanc. 1190-1213 Cockersand Ch.; *Layrebrok* 1286 Pat. R.; *Leyrebreck, Lairbrec* T.N.; *Layrbrecke* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Leirbrek* 1327, *Layrbrek* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Layrbrek* 1346 F.A.; *Layrebret* I.N.; *Layrebreck* 1369 Scarisbrick ch.; *Larbreck* 1398 Lanc. inq.; now Larbrick.

From O.W.Scand. *leir-brekka* 'a clayey slope or bank', 1st mem. being *leir* n. 'clay, loam; mud, esp. on the beach' (O.E.Scand. *lēr*), or *leirr* m. 'loamy soil'. The place is situated on the river Wyre.

O.W.Scand. *leirr* or *leir* seems to enter, besides, into the following names:

Leirpel Yo. e. 12th cent., *Lairpel* c. 1146, *Leirpelle* 1351, *Lairpell, Layerpelle, Lairepell* 1395, *Larepoole* c. 1540, Whitby Ch.; now Larpool.[2]

Torp Yo. 1198 (Inspex. 1252) Ch. R.; **Leyrthorp** 1228 Gray's Reg., 1279 Yo. inq., 1280 Pat. R.; *Lairthorp* 1329 Pat. R.; *Leirthorp, Lairthorp* 1332, *Laierthorp, Layrethorp* 1468 Rievaulx Ch.; now Layerthorpe (in the suburb of York).[1]

Leyrbotel Nhb. 1374 Rot. Orig.; not identifiable.[3]

Leirgile, *Leirgilbank, Leyrgile, Layergilebank,* Lanc. 13th cent.(?) Furness Ch.; *Leyrgilebanke* 1189-1226 Lanc. Priv. deeds; in Orgrave (par. of Dalton in Furness).[4]

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] The etymology of the word *pel* presents some difficulties in view of the consistent spellings with *e*. It might possibly be from M.E. **pill* < O.E. *pyll* 'a pool'; early N.E. *pill[e]*, N.E. dial. *pill:* 1) a pool, creek, small running stream 2) a shallow well, fed with surface-water, etc. There is certainly a hitch in this explanation, namely that N.E. dial. *pill* is known only from south-western dialects. It may, however, once have existed also in others, where in process of time it became obsolete. Larpool is not marked on PHILIPS' map but seems to be on the coast near Whitby.

[3] M.E. *botel* (O.E. *botl*) 'dwelling, house'.

[4] O.W.Scand. *gil*, see p. 19 n.

Leyregraves Li. 1314 Ch. R.; in Mumby.[1]
Leirgravehill Norf., see Rye's list of Norfolk field-names in his Introduction to Ped. fin. Norf.[1]
Leirhagh' Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; in W. Witton, Wensleydale.[2]
Leirhull, *Leyrhill* Li. 1268 Ch. R.; in Dunstall (Corringham).[3]
Leyrepitts *[in Gillinge]* Yo. 1280 A.Plac.[4]
Leirpottes Cumb. 1347 Rot. Orig.[5]
Le Lairpot Lanc. 1332 Furness Ch.; in Pennington.[5]
Lairpul Cumb. c. 1200 Lanc. Priv. deeds.[6]
Laỳrsic Yo. 13th cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[7]
Le Leyrsike Lanc. 1257-68 Cockersand Ch.; in Wimmarleigh.[7]
Lairsike Yo. 1210-40 Cockers. Ch.; in Bentham.[7]
Leirburnesike, *Layrburnesike* Lanc. 1200-36 Cockers. Ch.; in Hutton (nr. Preston).[7]

Besides *leir* and *leirr* there was in O.W.Scand. an allied formation *leira* (or *leiri*) which signified 'a loam-field, loamy or muddy shore'. Like *leirr* this latter word is found sporadically uncompounded as a place-name in Norway (see further Rygh, Indl.), and traces of the words occur, too, in Scandinavian England. A document of A.D. 1332 in the Chartulary of Rievaulx speaks of a plot of land in Nalton (Yo.) as '*una perticata terræ ... quæ vocatur Leir*'. It is by no means improbable that this field-name represents O.W.Scand. *leirr*. To proceed further, in the time of Domesday there were in Essex three places called *Legra;* of subsequent instances of the name I content myself with quoting only these:

Legra 1198 (Inspex. 1253), *Leyre Marinnyne* 1265 Ch. R.; *Legra Mareny* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Leire Marny* 1303, *Leyre M.* 1346, 1428 F.A.; now Layer Marny.[8]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *leir-grǫf* 'a loam-pit'.
[2] As for 2nd mem. see p. 21n. 3.
[3] M.E. *hül, hil* (O.E. *hyll*) 'hill'.
[4] O.W.Scand. *leir-pyttr* 'a loam-pit'.
[5] M.E. *pot* 'a deep hole or cavity, a pit dug in the ground'; N.E. dial. *pot,* according to N.E.D. used only in the north (Scotl. to Linc.) and especially in districts where Scand. influence prevailed. The word is believed to be etymologically identical with O.W.Scand. *pottr (leir-pottr)* 'an earthen pot'; O.E., M.E. *pott,* N.E. pot.
[6] O.E., M.E. *pull* 'a pool, creek'. Cf. O.W.Scand. *pollr* 'a pool, pond'.
[7] O.W.Scand. *sík, síki:* trench, rill, 'rivus', or M.E. *sīke* (O.E. *sīc*).
[8] The adjuncts appended to these names are apparently Norman family-names. In 1265 *William de Marinny* had a grant of free warren in all his demesne lands in Layer M. (Ch. R.).

Lehegra 1267 Ch. R.; *Leire de la Haye* 1303, *Leyre Dil Hay* 1346, *Leyre, Leire de la Hay* 1428 F.A.; now Layer de la Hay.

Leyre Bretun Rot. H., *Leyre Breton* 1375 Br.Mus., 1428 F.A.; now Layer Breton.

I think the *Legra* of DoB. represents the afore-mentioned O.W.Scand. *leira*. The M.E. spellings allow of such a derivation, which is actually confirmed by the nature of the soil on the spot. From the geological map of Essex given in the Victoria History it appears that the three Layers are situated on an area of London Clay, not very large in extent, and skirted on three sides — on the fourth is the sea — by patches of glacial gravel and sand. Beyond these extends the vast expanse of Boulder clay which covers the larger part of the county. Cassel's Gazetteer of Great Britain & Ireland, when dealing with the places under notice, remarks laconically: 'soil and subsoil loamy'.

[**Maidestuna** Norf. DoB.; *Meydington, Maidinton* Rot. H.; now Mayton, in Horstead.

Judging by the form in DoB., the 1st mem. may originally have been O.W.Scand. *meiðr* (Swed., Dan. *med*) 'a pole or longitudinal beam', here applied to a person as a surname (cf. Kahle, Altwestnord. Beinamen, Ark. XXVI, p. 234). However, since this derivation is not confirmed by any post-Domesday spellings, as far as known by me, it is very uncertain.]

Rainestorp, *Rainiltorp* Norf. DoB.; *Reinestorp* 1200 Cal. fin.; *Reinstorp* T.N.; *Reynesthorp* 1339 Cl. R.; *Reynthorp* 1507 Cat.A.D.; now Rainthorpe, in Newton Flotman.

1st mem. seems to be the O.W.Scand. personal name *Hreinn* (La., etc.), provided it is not O.W.Scand. *reynir* 'a roan-tree', *reyni* 'a clump of roan-trees'. With regard to these latter words, cf. further the place-names which apparently contain them, in Ch. 3.[1]

[**Reinesford, Renesgill** etc. see below, in Ch. 3.]

Rainincton, *Reineton* Yo. DoB.; *Raynington* 1198 Fountains Mem, 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Rennington* 1202, *Renningeton* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Ranyngton* Kirkby, No. vill.; *Renington* 1311 Fountains Mem.; *Raynyngton, Renyngton* 1319 Cl. R.; *Raynyngton* 1329 Cl. R.; now Rainton, in Topcliffe.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

1st mem. is a patronymic, derived from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hreinn*, for which cf. preceding name.[1]

Raynhull Lanc. c. 1190 Scarisbrick ch.; 1285 Lanc. Assize R., *Reynhill,-hull* 1246 ib.; *Reinhul* c. 1237 Cat. A.D.; *Raynyl*, *Raynull* 1258 L. Assize R.; *Reynhull* 1269 ibid., 1256, 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Reynel* 1292, *Raynehull* 1334 Rot. Orig.; *Raynhull* 1346 F.A., 1383 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Raynhill* 1447 Cal. inq. Lanc.; now Rainhill.

1st mem. may be O.W.Scand. *rein* f. 'a strip of land which forms the boundary of a tilled field or an estate'. O.E.Scand. *rēn;* on M.E. *rēne* 'border', see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 63. This etymology goes well with the meaning of the 2nd member, M.E. *hil, hul* 'hill'. The former word appears to have been common to several Teutonic languages, and it may be appropriate to consider, in some measure, the sense-development it has undergone in them. In Norw. dial. (Aasen) *rein* has retained the meaning of the O.WScand. word; moreover, it signifies a narrow ridge or elevation of the ground, a long bank of earth or gravel. MLG. *rên* meant 'Ackergrenze'; OHG. *rein* (Germ. Rain) 'abgrenzender Bodenstreifen, meist erhöht, als Ackergrenze', and in South Germ. dialects (see Grimm's Wörterb.) we find *rain* used of a long slope, a slope descending towards a fen or river (Bavarian), the slope of a hill (Swiss). It should be noticed that the site of Rainhill favours such an explanation of the name. The township of R. occupies the southern slope of a hill; 'roughly speaking, the ridge of the hill forms the boundary against Eccleston on the north.' See Vict. Hist., Lanc. III, p. 368. Cf. also Harrison, Place-names of the Liverpool district, p. 61.

Rancleiff *[by Scarburgh]* Yo. 1405 Pat. R.; *Reynclyf* 1461, *Raynclyff* 1475 Pat. R.; now Raincliff, near Scarborough.

1st mem. perhaps as in preceding name.[2]

[1] On 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[2] 2nd mem. was originally O.W.Scand. *kleif* 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side', subsequently replaced by the native M.E. *clif*, N.E. cliff, or O.W.Scand. *klif*. Cf. Claife, above p. 67. — Whether O.W.Scand. *rein* enters as well into *Rayntona* Durh. BoB., now East and West Rainton, is hard to determine, yet the possibility is not excluded. The name is written *Reynton'* 1203, *Reiningtone* 1228 FPD., *Reininntun* LVD., *Reynigton* 1300, *Raynton* 1347 f. Durh. Account R.; *Raynton* 1430 FPD., etc. Judging by Cary's map, East Rainton stands on the slope of a ridge, or range of hills. Or is the etymology identical with that of the Yorkshire Rainton?

Riedesdal Yo. 1204 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Reydhesdale* 1246, *Reythesdale* 1251, *Reydes-*, *Reydisdale* 1260 Rievaulx Ch.; *Raythesdale* 1268 Ch. R., 1272 Riev. Ch.; *Raythesdale*, *Rathesdale* in MSS. of unknown date, Riev. Ch.; *Raysedale* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Reythis-*, *Reydis-*, *Reithesdale* 1332, *Rays-*, *Raisdale* 14th cent.(?) Rievaulx Ch.; now Raysdale, in Bilsdale.

1st mem. looks like the genitive case of O.W.Scand. **Hreiðr*, a hypothetical short form of the man's name *Hreiðúlfr*. Compare below, under Raithby. The ending *-es* of this genitive is not Scandinavian in form but represents the native M.E. ending, which seems in many place-names of a similar kind to have kept its unstressed vowel till a very late date. To take an instance near at hand, the name of the neighbouring Bilsdale appears in the Rievaulx Ch. as *Bildesdala*, etc., (from O.W.Scand. *Bildr*, a man's name), with the *e* written throughout the M.E. period.[1] Cf. Kluge in Paul's Gr., p. 1056, § 115 b. — O.W.Scand. *hreiðr* 'a bird's nest', supposed by Rygh to be contained in some Norwegian place-names, need hardly be considered in the present case.

Redrestorp Yo. DoB.; *Reidestorp* 1162-63 Pipe R.; *Raysthorp* Kirkby; *Raisthorp* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Raythorp* No. vill. now Raisthorpe.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hreiðarr* (La. etc.); O.Dan. *Rethær*, O.Swed. *Redhar*.[2] Compare the O.Norw. place-names *i Reidharsuelli* D.N. 12 (1306), *a Reidestadum* D.N. 5 (1331); see further Rygh, Personnavne, p. 201 f.

Redebi Le. DoB.; *Rederbia* 1124 Le. Survey; *Reidebi* t. Hen. II., see Priory of Laund, Mon. VI,1; *Rethirby* T.N.; *Retherby* T.N., Tax. eccl., 1303, 1400 Pat. R., 1327 Subs. R., 1428 F.A., 1486 f. C. Inq.; *Rotherby* No. vill.; now Rotherby.

1st mem. is the O.Dan. man's name *Rethær* or O.Swed. *Redhar*, see preceding name.[3] The D.Dan. form occurs (compare Madsen, p. 263 f.) in the O.Dan. place-name *Rethærstorp* 1211 D.A., which has an exact parallel on English territory in

Retherestorp North. 1231 Ch. R.; *Thorp* 1284 F.A.; *Rethereshrop* 1315 C. Inq., 1340 Cl. R; *Ritheresthorp* T.N., 1316, 1428

[1] For 2nd mem. see p. 4. n. 4.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

F.A.; *Rethirsthrope* 1405 Pat. R.; *Ritherthroup* 1492 C. Inq.; now Rothersthorpe.[1]

Redresbi, *Reresbi* Le. DoB.; *Reresby* Tax. eccl., T.N., 1316, 1428 F.A.; *Rerisby* T.N., 1327 Subs. R.; *Rerysby* 1402 Pat. R.; now Rearsby.

1st mem. as in preceding name.[2] The two parishes of Rearsby and Rotherby are only about two miles from each other, on the river Wreak.

Radresbi Li. DoB.; *Reitheby* 1200 Rot. Ch.; *Reytheby* Rot. Hug., Tax. eccl., T.N., 1318 f. Pat. R.; *Reythesby* T.N.; *Retheby* 1281 Cl. R.; *Raitheby* 1305 f. Pat. R., 1316 F.A.; *Raytheby* 1314 Ch. R., 1330 C. Inq., 1331 Cl. R.; *Raidheby* T.N., 1338 Pat. R.; *Ratheby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1401 f. F.A., 1465 Pat. R.; now Raithby, near Louth.

So far as can be seen from the spelling in DoB., the 1st mem. may originally have been the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hreiðarr* (see above under Raisthorpe), still the subsequent M.E. instances rather point to an unrecorded O.W.Scand. **Hreiði* = O.Swed. **Rēdhe*, the existence of which is established by its appearing in some place-names; see Hellqvist, p. 110. The form **Hreiði* may be a short form of *Hreiðúlfr* or *Hreiðarr;* compare what is said above under Raysdale. The guess that the 1st mem. might be the O.W.Scand. *reiðr* 'ready, clear' (Norw. dial. *reid* 'prepared'), used as a surname, is scarcely plausible, considering the meaning of this adjective, inasmuch as it can be made out from the few forms on record.[2] — To be explained in the same fashion is probably the place-name

Radebi Li. DoB.; *Raideheby* T.N.; *Raitheby* 1327 C. Inq.; *Ratheby* Tax. eccl., 1316, 1428 F.A., 1317 Pat. R., I.N., 1483 Cat.A.D., etc.; now Raithby, near Spilsby.

Rycalvegrayne Yo. 13th cent., *Ricolvegraines* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; now lost on the map? Not far from Hemsley.

2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *grein* 'a branch' (cf. under Grainsby, p. 55), here probably applied to the branching of a river, since the 1st mem. seems to be the name of the river Riccal. The place designated should be looked for somewhere in, or near, Riccal Moor.

Scalegail Cumb. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Scalgaile* 1321 Cal. Inq.; *Skalegaile* 1338 Cl. R.; *Scalgill* 1334 C. Inq., 1386 Cal. Inq.; *Skalgill*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.
[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

1398 Cal. Inq.; now disappeared from the map (?), but must be near Ullock, or Whitehaven.

2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *geil*, in process of time superseded by *gil*; see further above, p. 56, under Hugill.[1]

Skeith Suff. t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Wicham* ibd., 1253 Ch. R., etc.; *Wicham-Skeyth* 1368 Suff. fines; *Skeyth* 1402 f., *Wykham-skeyth* 1406 Br.Mus.; *Skeith in Wikham* 1406 Cal. Inq.; *Skeyt in Wykham* al. *Wykham Skeyth* 1409 Pat. R.; *Wykham Skeyth* 1457 Br.Mus.; *Skeith* date unknown, Colchester Ch.; now Wickham Skeith.

From O.W.Scand. *skeið* < **skaiþa*, the primary meaning of which appears to have been 1) separation, parting; then 2) something that separates, divides, perhaps also 3) that which is separated. Compare the O.Swed. equivalent *skēþ* 'a chip, slice, spoon' and the collateral *skēþe* 'a course, space of time', Swed. dial. *skee* 'a ridge of sand', etc.,[2] moreover OHG. *sceit* discissio, 'Scheidung, Spaltung', MHG. *scheit* 'Scheidung, Wasserscheide', O.Sax. *scēth* 'discrimen' (Schade), and O.E. *[ʒe]scād*, *[ʒe]sceād* 'separation, distinction', etc., M.E. *schad*, *shæd*, N.E. shed (watershed). As far as can be concluded from the Ordnance Map, Wickham Skeith stands on an eminence or a ridge of sand or gravel, which projects into a plain, and I think it is this ridge or eminence that is indicated by the word *skeið*. Below it, in the west, we find Wickham Green and a little further north, on the highway, Wickham Street. In its vicinity lies the Scandinavian Thwaite, and some miles farther off, in the west, Westhorpe.

It is possible that, in the case of *Bruneskayth* (now Brunstock, see above p. 29), *skeið* occurs in exactly the same application. B. is in the lower valley of the Eden with surroundings decidedly flat, but itself stands on a gentle elevation.[3]

Siraches Wap. Yo. DoB.; *Scirac* 1165-66, *Schireie* 1179-80, *Scireie* 1180-81 Pipe R.; *Skireyke* 1287 Yo. inq.; *Schyrayk* Rot.

[1] As for the 1st mem., O.W.Scand. *skáli* 'hut, shed', see in Ch. 5.

[2] This word is quoted from Norrby, Ydre härads gårdnamn, p. 204, where some Norwegian names containing *skeið* are subjected to a detailed examination.

[3] I have been informed by the Rector of the parish that at a distance of one third of a mile there flows on its way to the Eden a small stream, known locally as Brunstock beck. A common O.E., M.E. word for a stream, especially in the north, was *burn*, *burna*, *brunna*, etc. Perhaps some form of this word, at the earliest stage of the name, constituted the 1st member? Cf. p. 30 n.

H.; *Skyrayk* Kirkby, No. vill.; *Skirayk*, *Skireyk*, *Skyreyk* 1338 Cl. R.; *Skyreyk* 1347 Pat. R.; now Skyrack Wapentake.

Originally a native formation, composed of O.E. *scīr* 'shire' or, perhaps rather, *scīre* 'boundary' (cf. MIDDENDORF) + *āc* 'oak'.[1] A similar compound would be O.E. *mār-āc* 'an oak which serves as a part of a boundary' (BOSWORTH-TOLLER). In the course of the 12th cent. the name was entirely Scandinavianized, the *āc* of the 2nd mem. being replaced by the O.W.Scand. equivalent *eik*, and the native *sc* by the corresponding O.Scand. *sk*. In the last two spellings of the Pipe rolls, *eie* is evidently miswritten for *eic*. On O.Scand. *skiri*, a term apparently introduced from England, see STEENSTRUP, Danelag, p. 74.

Scogreineshoues Yo. 12th cent., 1308, *Scograineshoues* passim 12th cent., *Scogranehouuis* 1204 Whitby Ch.; now lost.

The 1st member looks like a personal name, possibly O.W.Scand. **Skóga-Hreinn*, from *skógr* 'a wood' prefixed to the man's name *Hreinn* and referring to the abode or usual whereabouts of the person in question. Cf. the O.W.Scand. name *Skóga-Skeggi*, given by F. JÓNSSON, Tilnavne, p. 187. This purely conjectural explanation is corroborated, in some measure, by the quality of the 2nd member, which seems to be O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'a sepulchral mound, barrow'. As for such mounds named after the surname or nickname of the deceased, see K. RYGH in Sprogl. og hist. afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges minde, p. 113.

Scorleinlandes Yo. 13th cent. Guisbrough Ch. In Ormesby. Contains O.W.Scand. *lein* f. 'a slope'. See FRITZNER.[2]

Skreythesfeld Li. 1242 Li. rec.; *Screythfeld* Tax. eccl.; *Scraidhesfeld* T.N., 1338 Pat. R.; *Scrayfeld* 1303, 1401 f. F.A., I.N.; *Skraithefeld* 1316 F.A.; *Scraythfeld* 1310 C. Inq., 1311 Cl. R., 1346, 1428 F.A.; *Screyfeld* 1322 Cl. R.; *Skraythefeld* 1327 f. C. Inq.; *Scraithefeld* al. *Scrayfeld* 1395 Br.Mus. (under Braytoft); now Scrafield (near Hagworthingham).

[1] A parallel compound, containing the weak feminine *scīre*, seems to be the place-designation *Sciran ac* C.D. 951; in Worcestershire?

[2] The *Scor-* of the 1st mem. is probably a corrupt form of M.E. *schort* (O.E. *sceort*) 'short', seeing that near the locality in question there is another called *Langlein-, Langeleinlandes* (ibid., Guisbr. Ch.), which name shows O.W.Scand. *langr* or M.E. *lang* 'long' as 1st member. The latter locality is probably identical with the two places marked on the Ordnance Map, within the boundaries of Ormesby, as Longlands. Both are on eminences, sloping gently towards the Ormesby Beck. In the neighbourhood we find *Brocholmleinland;* a place-name *Brocholme* occurs in the same passage in Guisbrough Ch.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *skreið* f. in the same sense as the cognate *skriða* f. 'a land-slip, on a hill-side' (Vigf.). *Skreið* in this sense is not given by the dictionaries, but its existence in the old language is rendered probable by the Norw. dial. (Aasen) *skreid*, which means as much; cf. the Norwegian place-name *Refskre*, Rygh, N.G. XI, 317. The internal *-s-* of some spellings above is excrescent or may point to an unrecorded collateral form **skreiði* n.[1]

Sleddalgayle Yo. 1284 C. Inq.; *Seldalegile* t. Edw. I. ibid.; now Sleddale Gayle. Some miles from Hawes?

Contains O.W.Scand. *geil*. See further above, p. 56, under Hugill. Compare *Thornehowgayle, Thursgayle, Westgayl,* below in this chapter, and *Austgail* in Ch. 4.

Slaipewath, *Slaypewath* Yo. 13th cent. Guisbrough Ch. Near Skelton. Not identifiable.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *sleipr* (Norw. dial. *sleip*) 'slippery'. Compare N.E. dial. *slape* (found almost exclusively in the north) with the the same meaning[2]. The same word enters into

Slaypegill *(vaccaria)* Yo. 1388 Cal. Inq. I am unable to locate this place, which should be looked for in the northwestern corner of the county.[3]

[**Slateborne** Yo DoB.; *Sleiteburna* 1144-47, *Slaiteburna* 1155 Pontefr. Ch.; *Sleitcburne* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Sleyteburn* 1246 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Slayteburne* 1268 Giffard's Reg.; *Slaiteburn* 1251, *Slayteburn, Slaghteburne* 1294 Ch. R.; *Slayteburne, Sleteburn* Tax. eccl.; *Slayteburn* 1267-76 N. Reg., Rot. H. 1351 Pat. R.; *Sleyteburn* 1318 N. Reg.; *Sleytburne* 1327 C. Inq.; *Slaytburn, Slaitburn* 1346 Pat. R.; now Slaidburn.

I have looked in vain for some native or O.Scand. word to which the 1st member might be traced back. The 2nd mem. is O.E. *burn* or *burna* 'a stream', in this case referring to the river Hodder or to its tributary the Crossdale Brook. Close to their confluence stands the village of Slaidburn on an eminence or a mountain-side; the surrounding country is very rugged and mountainous. Was the 1st mem. a now lost O.W.Scand. **sleit* f., related by ablaut to O.W.Scand. *slit* n. 'a slit, tear', *slíta* (O.E. *slītan*) 'to slit, break, rend, tear', and signifying a rent, cleft or crevice? Of cognate words should be noted O.E., M.E. *slite* 'slit,

[1] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *vað* 'a ford'; cf. p. 27, n. 1.

[3] On 2nd mem. see p. 56, under Hugill.

crack, cleft', O.E. *ȝeslit* 'rending, tearing', MHG. *sleize*, Germ. Schleisse (Leuchtspan), see further GRIMM's Wörterbuch. Concerning the type, ablaut-grade and meaning of **sleit*, compare such O.W.Scand. formations as *rauf* f. 'a rift, hole' (*rjúfa* 'to break, rip up, break a hole in'), *braut* f. 1) a road cut through rocks, forests, etc. 2) a steep hill- or mountain-side' = *brot* n. (*brjóta* 'to break'), *sneið* 'a slice, piece' (*sníða* 'to cut'), etc. Or perhaps **sleit* was an O.W.Scand. river-name formation of the same type as the O.Norw. river-names **Beit* and **Beita* (*bíta* 'to bite'), **Gaus* (*gjósa* 'to gush, break out'), **Gaut* (*gjóta* 'to shed, pour'); in that case it must have referred to the course of the river (Hodder), which, in fact, is still noted for its 'swift and copious waters' (MORRIS, J.E. The West Riding of Yorkshire, p. 480). — Slaidburn has been explained by TAYLOR (Names and their histories) from O.E. *slæd* 'valley', which etymology is impossible, and by MOORMAN from 'Old Northumbrian English *slaht, slæht* = W. Sax. *sleaht, slieht* 'slaughter, battle'. The latter suggestion is equally inadmissible, seeing that the M.E. northern form was *slaght* (Cursor M.), *slaȝt*, which for more than one reason cannot be represented by the *Sleite-, Slaite-* of the early 12th and 13th cent. spellings. The later isolated writing *Slaghte-* may be due to false association with the M.E. word in question.]

Esneid, *Esnoid, Esnoit* Yo. DoB.; *Snaid* 1100-09 York Hist.; *Snayth* 1101-09 f., *Snaith* c. 1109-14 Selby Ch.; *Sneid* 1154 ibid., 1168-69 f. Pipe R., 12th cent. York Hist.; *Sneit* 1176-77 f. Pipe R., 1210—12 Liber rub.; *Sneyth* 1189 Selby Ch., 1241 Rot. fin. exc., 1242 Lanc. Inq., 1151 f. Br. Mus., 1270 Giffard's Reg., 1267-76 N. Reg., Tax. eccl., 1291 Baildon, 1255, 1300 f. Pat. R., 1343 Cl. R., etc.; *Snay* 1234 Cl. R.; *Snaith* 1249 Ch. R.; *Snayth* 1251 Ch. R., Rot. H., 1285 Baildon, Tax. eccl., 1292, 1304 Selby Reg., Mon. III, No. vill, 1318 f., 1427 Pat. R., 1378 Poll-tax, etc.; now Snaith.

From O.W.Scand *sneið* f. 'a slice, piece', (*sníða* 'to slice, lop, cut'), here either used in a sense adopted from the O.E. equivalent *snād, snæd*, viz. 'a piece of land', or like the Norw. dial. *sneid* and Danish *sned* (in local names, see STEENSTRUP, Da. Stednavne, p. 103, and Indledende Studier, p. 42) applied to a slope. The town of Snaith lies on a ridge of elevation, which

slopes gently northwards to the so-called Snaith Marsh and the River Aire. On the southern side extend the Cowick Car and the Pollington Car. As applied to a piece of land, *sneið* is not recorded in the O.Scand. languages, to the best of my knowledge. Nor is any instance to be found among the Norwegian place-names hitherto dealt with in RYGH, N.G. An allied word is MHG. *sneite* f. 'durch den Wald gehauener Weg, Durchstich' (LEXER).

O.W.Scand *sneið* is found, moreover, in the two field-designations *Snaythinges* Li., MS. undated, Cat. A.D. I (In Over Burnham), and *Snaidhinges* Derb. 1209 Ped. fin. (near Glapwell?), the 2nd mem. being O.E., M.E. *ing* 'meadow'. Perhaps they are only Scandinavianized forms of a native **Snǣd-ing*. Cf. O.E. *snǣd-feld*, translated in SWEET, Ags. Dict. by 'enclosed field'. Why 'enclosed' I fail to see.

Steyneslith Lanc. 1245, *Staynerlith* 1245 f. Lanc. Assize R.; *Steynerliche* 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI; *Staynarluth* 1357 Cal. Inq.; now Stennerley (par. of Ulverston).

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Steinarr* (La.), or it may be from O.W.Scand. **stein-eyrr* 'a gravelly bank'; cf. the Lanc. place-name *Stanheir*, end of Ch. 3.[1]

Stainsecre Yo. 12th, 13th cent., *Stainsecher* c. 1146 (Papal confirm.), *Steinsecher*, *Stainsker* 12th cent. Whitby Ch.; *Steinesacr'* 1175-76, *Steinseker* 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Staynseker* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Staynseeker* No. vill.; *Staynsekir* 1394-95, *Staynsyker* 1396, *Staynseker*, *-ekerr*, *Steynsekerr* 14th cent. Whitby Ch.; now Stainsacre.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Steinn* (O.E.Scand. *Stēn*), which is of common occurrence in O.W.Scand. place-names; see RYGH, Personnavne.[2] The same name seems to enter into the following M.E. place-names:

Steinesbi Derb. DoB, 1169-70 Pipe R., 1311 C. Inq.; *Stainesbi* 1212 Lanc. Inq.; *Steinnesbi* 1220 Rot. fin exc.; *Steynesby* 1271 Derb. fines, T.N., 1275, 1311 C. Inq., 1284 F.A., Rot. H.,

[1] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *hlíð* slope, mountain-side = O.E. *hlīþ*.

[2] 2nd mem. probably O.W.Scand. *ekra* 'a cultivated piece of land, corn-field'; Norw. dial. *ækra*, Swed. dial. *äckra* 'a field that is left fallow'. The latter word is often found in place-names in the south of Sweden.

1345 Pat. R.; *Stainesby* T.N.; *Steynisby* 1292 Br. Mus.; *Staynesby* 1275 C. Inq., 1431 F.A.; now Stainsby.[1]

Steinesbi Yo. DoB.; *Stainesby, Steinesbi* 12.cent. Rievaulx Ch.; *Staynesby* c. 1200 f. Guisbrough Ch.; *Steinsby* 1247 Ch. R.; *Stainsby* Kirkby; *Steynesby* 1311 Rot. Orig.; *Steinesby, Stainisby* 1332 Riev. Ch.; *Staynesby* No. vill., 1339 Pat. R.; *Stainesby* 1367 Cal. Inq.; marked on Cary's map as Stainsby Hall (in Stainton-in-Cleveland, near Thornaby). The Ordnance Map gives only the nature names Stainsby Beck and Stainsby Wood.[1]

Steineshale Yo. DoB.; *Stansall* No. vill.; now Stancill, near Tickhill.[2]

Steintune Derb. DoB.; *Steineston* 12. cent. Tutbury ch., Mon. III; *Steinestone* 1208 Ped. fin.; *Stayneston* 1431 F.A.; *Steynston* 1443 Jeaye's Cat.; now Stenson.[3]

Stainінghe Lanc. DoB.; *Stayning* 1212-17 Cockers. Ch. *Steyninge* 1303 F.A.; *Staynyng* 1297 Lanc. Inq., 1346 F. A.; *Stayninge* 1320-46 Lanc. Surv., 1361 Cal. Inq.; now Staining, in Hardhorn with Newton.

This looks like an O.W.Scand. derivative in *-ing*, either a patronymic of the man's name *Steinn* (cf. preceding names), or developed from the concrete noun *steinn* (O.E. *stān*) 'stone'. With regard to the presumable original type of such names, see Hellqvist, p. 137. As is stated by the same author (ibd. p. 98) formations of this kind seem to have been rare in the local nomenclature of Old and Mediæval Norway, although it is true they were far from being so in that of Sweden. Compare the O.Swed. place-name *Steninge*, Hellqvist, p. 98. *Stainінghe* may, of course, also be composed of *steinn* + O.E. *ing* 'meadow'.

Stein Li. Surv. 1118, 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Steim* 1202 Li. rec.; *Steyne* Tax. eccl., T.N., 1346 F.A.; *Stain* T.N.; *Stayn* 1303, 1316 F.A., 1355 Br. Mus.; *Steyne, Stani* 1338 Pat. R.; now Stain, in Withern.

From O.W.Scand. *steinn* (O.E.Scand. *stēn*, O.E. *stān*) 'stone, rock'. The word was in frequent use — uncompounded — as a place-name in ancient Norway. For examples see the indexes of E.J., and Rygh, N.G.

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby. p. 3.
[2] 2nd mem. M.E. *halle* (O.E. *heall*) 'hall'.
[3] On 2nd mem. see above p. 7 n. 1.

A great many compounded M.E. place-names exhibit O.W. Scand. *steinn* as 1st member. In not a few cases the remaining member, too, is a Scandinavian word; the Scand. origin of such names admits of no doubt whatever. But sometimes this latter member is either a native word or can be native as well as Scandinavian, when the word is found in exactly the same form in both languages. Now it should be noticed that in the local nomenclature of England previous to Domesday, as far as it is on record, compounds with O.E. *Stān-* seem to have been very frequent. Already in the earliest charters we repeatedly come across such names as — the following forms are normalized by me — *Stānburh, Stānburne, Stānford, Stānclif, Stānlēah, Stāntūn,* etc.; see further the collections of Thorpe, Gray Birch, Kemble, and Dugdale. It is true that nearly all these names are known only from the southern counties to which the bulk of the O.E. charters relate. But it is more than probable that the local nomenclature of Northern England did not differ in this respect from that of the South. That being so, it is natural that in those districts of Northern England that were densely populated by Scandinavian settlers such and similar *stān-* names should be apt to be Scandinavianized, and that, in these parts, we should find *Steinburh, Steinburne, Steinford,* etc.; see the list below. Still it is to be admitted that as long as no earlier native instances of those names can be given, we are not in a position to decide in each particular case whether a Scand. form found in Middle-English represents a native formation in Scand. disguise, or whether the name was actually coined by the new settlers in the period when the amalgamation of the two races was in progress. I have deemed it appropriate to adduce here of such names only those of which the Scand. forms by far outnumber the native ones in my material. Some apparently native names of which Scand. spellings occasionally appear, are not included in the list below, as being of little or no value in the present investigation, They belong chiefly to Yorkshire, and their English origin is rendered likely by the fact that exact equivalents are as a rule to be found in counties out of Scand. England. If looked upon from these points of view, the following material may prove worthy of consideration:

Stainburg, *Stanburg* Yo. DoB.; *Steinburch* t. Hen. II., *Stainburgh* 1189, 1235 Rievaulx Ch.; *Steinborg* 1198 (Inspex. 1252)

Ch. R.; *Steinburg, Staynburna* 12.cent. Riev. Ch.; *Staynneburgh* No. vill.; *Steinburga, Stainburge, Stainburche* 1332 Riev. Ch.; now Stainborough, near Barnsley.[1]

Stainburne, *Stanburne* Yo. DoB.; *Staynburne* 1198 Fountains Mem.; *Steinburn* Kirkby; *Stayneburn* 1308 f. Pat. R., No. vill.; now Stainburn.[2]

Steinburn Cumb. t. Hen I. St. Bee Reg., Mon. III; *Steainburna* 1189 Ch. R. III; *Staynburn* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1407 Pat. R.; *Staynbourn* 1406 Pat. R.; now Stainburn.[2]

Steindal Yo. 1247 Ch. R., *Steindale* 1260 Rievaulx Ch.; now Staindale, near Bilsdale.[3]

Steindrope *[& Steindropesire]* Durh. 1203 FPD.; *Steyndrope* 1294 Pat. R., 1372 Br. Mus.; *Steindrop, [Steindropeskire]* 1300 Ch. R.; *Steyndrop* 1409 Pat. R.; *Staynedrope* 1408 f. ibd.; *Staynedrop* Tax. eccl., 1318 f. Pat. R., 1367, 1430 FPD., 1392 etc. Durh. Account R.; now Staindrop.[4]

Steinfelde Li DoB.; *Steinfeld* 1188? Br. Mus., Wells' Vic. book, Rot. Hug., 1225 f. Pat. R.; *Stainfeld* 1255 C. Inq.; *Steynfeld* 13. cent. Whitby Ch., 1230 Ch. R., Tax. eccl., 1428 F.A.; *Staynfeld* 1292 Ch. R., 1314 C. Inq., 1316 f., 1402 F.A.; *Steinfeld* 1434 Pat. R.; now Stainfield, 9 miles E. of Lincoln.[5]

Steinfeld Yo. 1226 f. Gray's Reg.; *Steynfeld* Tax. eccl.; *Staynfeld*, Tax. eccl., 1250 Gray's Reg., 1319 Pat. R.; now Stainfield.[5] Near Gisburn? Not marked on PHILIPS' map.

Stainforde Yo. DoB.; *Steinford* 1235-55 Cockersand Ch., 1239 Ch. R.; *Stainforth* Kirkby; *Stainford Scotayn* 1314 C. Inq.; *Staynford*, 1270 Ch. R., No vill., 1377 Cal. Inq.; *Steynford* 1305,

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[1] As for 2nd mem. see p. 44, n. 2.

[2] 2nd mem. O.E. *burn, burna* 'a stream' The Yo. Stainburn stands on an affluent to the river Wharfe, the Cumb. one on the river Derwent.

[3] As for 2nd mem. see p. 4, n. 4.

[4] For additional instances see FPD., and Durh. Account R. The 2nd mem. looks like O.W.Scand. *dropi* (O.E. *dropa*, M.E. *drope, drop*) 'a drop', or O.W.Scand. **drop*, Norw. dial. *drop*, O.Swed. *drup, drop* n. 'dropping, dripping'. Staindrop lies in a vale on a small stream called Langley Beck. An analogous case is, perhaps, the Swedish place-name *Fjällsökla* (on record since e. 17. cent.; in the province of Dalsland), which is from the word *fjäll* 'mountain', and Norw. dial. *sykla* 'drivel, spittle, a trickling liquid'. The place thus indicated lies below an eminence. See Sveriges Ortnamn: Ortn. i Älvsborgs län XVI p. 74.

[5] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'.

1348, *Staynford Underbergh* 1343 f. Pat. R.; now Great and Little Stainforth, near Settle.[1]

Steinford, *Stenforde* Yo. DoB.; *Steinford* 1199 Ch. R. (Inspex. 1232); *Stainford* Kirkby; *Steynford* 1327 C. Inq.; *Staynford* 1304 Pat. R., No. vill.; *Steinforthker* 1340 Pat. R.; now Stainforth, Hatfield par.[1]

Staingartis Yo. Rot. H.; not identifiable.[2]

Steinegrif, *Stanegrif* Yo. DoB.; *Steinegrive* 12. cent. (?) Whitby Ch.; *Steingreua* 1162-63 Pipe R.; *Steyn-*, *Stayngreve*, *Steingrive* c. 1267 Giffard's Reg.; *Steingreve* 1273 Pat. R., 1333 Cl. R.; *Steynegryve*, *Steyngrive* 1277 Pat. R.; *Staingryfe*, *-grive*, *-gryf*, *-grif*, *-griff*, Kirkby; *Stayngrive* Tax. eccl.; *Steyngreve* 1297 Ch. R.; *Staygrife*, No. vill.; *Stenegriva*, *Stayngreve*, *Stangrive* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Stayngreve* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1300 Cl. R., I.N.; *Stangreue* 1441 Br. Mus., etc.; now Stonegrave.[3]

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[1] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *ford* 'ford.' Great & Little Stainforth stand opposite each oher on either bank of the river Ribble, Stainforth in Hatfield is on the Don.

[2] 2nd mem. is from M.E. *garth* (< O.W.Scand. *garðr*) 'an enclosure, fence'; see further under *Aistangarthes* in Ch. 3. On the A.N. symbol *t*, here used for etymological *ð*, cf. ZACHRISSON, p. 115.

[3] 2nd mem. is M.E. *grif*, *grive* < O.W.Scand. *gryfja* f. 'a hole, pit, cavity.' The latter word is of frequent occurrence in O.Norw. placenames; cf. FRITZNER, and RYGH, N.G. M.E. *grif*, *grive* are both recorded only in some place-names within the Scand. part of England; of these may be adduced, besides the name under notice: *Sourgryff* Yo. (see in Ch. 4); *Grif* Yo. 12. cent., 1226 f., *Griff*, *Griffe* 1332 Rievaulx Ch., now Griff (near Rievaulx); *Griva* Warw. l. Hen. II., *Gryff* 1496 Br. Mus., now Griff; *Grif* Derb. 1286 ibid., now Griff (in Bradborne); *Hormesgrif* (M.S. M. *Ormesg[r]iue*) Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Scineregrive* ibid., now Skinningrove; *Grif* Yo. DoB.; *Mulegrif* a. 1180, *Mulegrive* e. 13. cent. Whitby Ch., now Mulgrave; etc. (further in Part II). M.E. *grive* must have been the earlier form of the two after the borrowing. From it was developed, by a sort of back-formation, M.E. *grif* with voiceless spirant, in conformity to the O.E. and M.E. soundlaws respecting the quality of medial and final *f*, and on the analogy of such cases as O.E. *clif* [-f-], dat. sing. *clife* [-v-], N.E. cliff, in placenames Cliffe, and Clive (< M.E. *clive*); O.E. *græf*, M.E. *grafe* with the [-v-] of the inflected forms generalized, N.E. grave, but *graff*, *graffe* in the present Yorkshire and many other — also northern — dialects, with the voiceless sound of the old uninflected forms generalized (see E.D.D., gr. § 279). In a similar way M.E. *grif* has come down in the Yorkshire and some other northern dialects as *griff* [f] 'a deep valley with a rocky, fissure-like chasm at the bottom; a deep, narrow glen, a small

Staynhoukeld Yo. 1267 Ch. R.; *Staynhoukelde* 1281 Yo. inq.; *Staynhowkeld* 1284 C. Inq.; now Stony Keld (hamlet, in Bowes par).[1]

Stayneowe Yo. Kirkby; now Stanghow, near Great Moorsholme.[2]

Staynhowe Yo. Kirkby; now Stanhowe, near Kiplin.[2]

Steinola Lanc. 1176 Pipe R.; *Staynole* 1185-90, 1246-60 f. Cockers. Ch.; *Steinhol, Steynhol* 1235-45 ibd.; *Stanhull* 1226 Pipe R. (see Lanc. Subs. R.); *Staynole* 1248 C. Inq.; *Staynhal* 1256 Br. Mus.; *Staynul* 1238-59, *Staynol* 1292 Cockers. Ch.; *Steynhole* 1264 C. Inq.; *Steynol, Staynol* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Staynoll* 1443 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Stainall, near Preesall.[3]

Steinclif Yo. 1165-66 Pipe R., 1155-60 (Inspex. 1230) Ch. R., 1253 Pat. R.; *Steynclive* 1300 Pat. R.; *Steynclif* 1310, *Staynclyf* 1311 C. Inq.; *Staynclif* 1253 Pat. R., 1310 Rot. Orig., No. vill., 1372 Br. Mus.; *Steynclyf* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Stainclyfe* Kirkby; *Steyncliff* 1327 C. Inq.; now Staincliffe (Wapentake).[4]

Staincros Yo. DoB.; *Steincros* 1165-66 f. Pipe R.; *Staincros* 1233 Br. Mus., 1285 C. Inq.; *Staincrosse* Rot. H., *Steyncrosse* 1300 Pat. R.; *Staynecros* 1310, *Steyncros* 1327 C. Inq.; now Staincross (Wapentake).[5]

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ravine' (E.D.D.). The N.E.D. gives *griff* with the sole comment 'origin obscure'; furthermore, the word has been dealt with by WALL (Scand. elements in the Engl. dialects, Anglia XX), who confines himself to connecting it with O.W.Scand. *grǫf* and some other Scand. words of more distant relationship. He includes it in his List B, which comprises words that can be either Scand. or English. In the face of the above material, the Scand. origin cannot be doubted.

[1] The remainder of the compound seems to be made up of O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'hill, mound, cairn', and *kelda* 'fountain, spring'; cf. p. 28 n. 1.

[2] As for 2nd mem. compare preceding name.

[3] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *hol* 'a hollow, cavity'. — The present Stainall is on the northern bank of the river Wyre. According to W. FARRER (Cockersand Ch., p. 114 n.) the ancient township of S. lay onboth sides of the river. The portion belonging to the southern bank is now represented by Stanah or Steyna, earlier forms *Staynol super Wir* 1212-17 Cockers. Ch., *Steynhol* 1261, *Staynolf* 1323 Lanc. Inq.

[4] 2nd mem. O.E. *clif*, M.E. *clif, clive*, N.E. cliff.

[5] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *kross* 'cross.' On the late O.E. and M.E. *cros*, which is believed to be an adoption from O.Norw., see N.E.D.

Steynmor Wm. 1281 Pat. R.; *Stayn-, Steynmor* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Steynemore* 1325 Pat. R.; *Staynesmore* 1327 C. Inq., 1335 f. Pat. R., 1429 F.A.; now Stainmoor.[1]

Staynton *by Edene* Cumb. 1285 C. Inq.; *Steynton* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Staynton* 1322 f. Pat. R.; *Steynton* 1466 Pat. R., 1491 C. Inq.; now Stainton, near Penrith.[2]

Steintun Wm. DoB.; *Stainton* 1282, 1309 C. Inq.; *Steynton* 1461 Pat. R.; now Stainton, in Heversham.[2]

Steinton, *Steynton* Lanc. 1256 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Stainton* 1283 Lanc. Inq.; *Steintona, Steinton, Stayntonam, [Steyntongate]* 13. cent., *Stayntona* 1412 Furness Ch.; now Stainton, in Urswick.[2]

Steintona Durh. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Steynton* 1240 Gray's Reg.; *Steintun* unknown date FPD.; see further FPD.; now Great & Little Stainton.[2]

Steintun, *Steinton, Staintuna* Yo. 12. cent., *Steintunam* 1160 (Papal confirm.), *Staintona* 1201 f., *Steintonne* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Steynton* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr. This name, which denoted a district of West Bilsdale, has disappeared from the map. For details see Rievaulx Ch., p. 17, n.[2]

Steintona, *Stainton* Yo. t. Stephen Sallay ch., Mon. V; *Stayntona* 1189 (Inspex. 1271), *Staynton* 1270 Ch. R.; now Stainton, near Gargrave.[2]

Steintun, *Esteinton* Yo. DoB.; *Steintuna* 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Steinton* 1213 Guisbrough Ch.; 1266, *Stainton* 1269 Giffard's Reg., 1314 C. Inq.; *Steynton* 1282 C. Inq.; *Stayngtone* 1283 Wickwane's Reg.; *Stayneton* Kirkby; further instances in Guisbrough Ch.; now Stainton in Cleveland.[2]

Staintone, *Stantone* Yo. DoB.; *Steinton* 1164-65 Pipe R., 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Steyntone* 1283 Wickwane's Reg.; *Stainton* Kirkby; *Staynton* No. vill., 1320 Pat. R.; *Stenton* 1408 Yo. deeds; now Stainton by Tickhill.[2]

Steintone Li. DoB.; *Steintuna* Surv. 1118; *Staynton* 1316 f., 1428 F.A.; *Steynton* T.N., 1339 Br. Mus. (?); now Stainton with Waddingham.[2]

Stainton Li. DoB.; *Steintuna* Surv. 1118; *Steynton* Rot. Hug., 1260 f. Ch. R., l. 13. cent. Br. Mus., 1428 F.A.; *Staynton*

[1] 2nd mem. is probably O.E., M.E. *mōr* 'moor, waste and damp land'. For the relation of the word to O.W.Scand. *mór* 'moor, heath', see N.E.D.

[2] On the 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

1268 f. Ch. R., 1303 f., 1401-02 F.A.; now Stainton by Longworth.[1]

Staintune Li. DoB.; *Steintuna* Surv. 1118; *Northstaynton* 1273 C. Inq.; *Steinton* Rot. Hug.; *Staynton* Wells' Vic. book, 1314 C. Inq., 1316 f., 1428 F.A., 1335 Br. Mus.; *Steynton* T.N., 1276 C. Inq., 1303 F.A.; *Staynton super Waldam* 1318 Pat. R.; *North Staynton* 1431 F.A.; now Stainton le Vale.[1]

Staintune Li. DoB.; *Steintuna* Surv. 1118; *Staynton* a. 1166 Br. Mûs., 1303 f., 1428 F.A.; *Waldsteinton* 1208 Li. rec.; *Steinton, Stainton* Rot. Hug.; *Steinton* Wells' Vic. book; *Steynton Market* 1285, *Market Steinton* 1290 C. Inq.; *Steynton* 1282 C. Inq., 1346, 1428 F.A.; *Market Staynton, Staynton juxta Randby* 1431 F.A.; now Market Stainton.[1]

Steinþweit Li., see under *þveit*, end of this chapter,

Steinwath Li. 1163-81 Ch. R. III, T.N.; *Steynwath, Stanwaht* 1303, *Steynwayth* 1316 F.A.; *Staynwathe* 1310, *Steynwathe, Steinwath* 1330 C. Inq.; *Steynwath*, T.N., 1331 Cl. R., 1338 Pat. R.; *Staynwath* 1338 f., 1400 Pat. R., 1346 F.A.; *Stenwath* 1479 Cal. Inq.; *Stenewath, Stennyth, Stanwath* 1480 Pat. R.; now Stenwith, in Barrowby.[2]

Steinweges Cumb. 1195 f., *Stainwegges* 1197 Pipe R., V.H.; *Steinwegges, Stainwigges* 1227 Cl. R.; *Steynwegges* 1230 f., *Stanwegge* 1243 P. Pipe R.; *Staynwegges* 1302 Pat. R.; *Staynwyges* 1346 Cl. R.; *Staynwygges* 1348 Cl. R.; &c.; now Stanwix.[3]

[1] On the 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[2] As for 2nd mem. see p. 27 n. 1.

[3] This name was interpreted by CAMDEN (1722) as 'a place upon the Stony-way' (O.E. *stān-weȝ* 'a paved road'), and his explanation has been readily accepted by all subsequent writers on the subject. But although the earliest form above rather favours such a view, the later spellings with the geminate *gg* point in an entirely different direction. I think the name is from O.W.Scand. *stein-veggr* 'a stone wall', and the place was evidently named thus from the great Roman Wall which was constructed across the North of England from Bowness on the Solway Firth to Wallsend on the Tyne near Newcastle. Stanwix — in the 16th cent. (CAMDEN) a village, now a suburb of Carlisle — was a station on this wall; we learn from CAMDEN that in his time there were not inconsiderable remains ('great stones') of the wall to be seen there. Even at the present day there are still a few remains left as stated in BAEDEKER's Great Britain. For some details about the structure of the wall, see H. M. CHADWICK's description in the Encyclopædia Britannica (11th ed., under Britain), according to which it was composed of, first a wall of stone, then a broad ditch and, lastly, a turf wall. — In the par. of Stanwix lies the village of Stainton, written *Staynton* 1314 C. Inq., which name can be Scandinavian.

Steinueges, *Stenuueghes, Stenwege* Yo. DoB.; *Steineweke* 1165-66 Pipe R.; *Steinweg* 1226 f., *Stainwegges* 1233 Gray's Reg., 1318 N. Reg.; *Staynwigges* Kirkby, Rot. H.; *Steynwegges* 1298 Yo. inq.; *Staynwegges* No. vill.; *Stainwigges* 1348 Pat. R.; *Estanwik* 1460 Br.Mus.; &c.; now Stanwick.[1]

Stainbec Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Marske.[2]

Stainbrigge Yo. l. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Stainebrig* 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; near Ormesby.[3]

Steinbrigge Li. 1291 Ch. R.; in Bullington, near Stainton by Longworth.[3]

Staynenges Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; in Coulby.[4]

Steinflat Yo. 1212, *Stainflat* 1213 Ped. fin. Eb.: in Plumpton.[5]

Steingate Yo. a. 1180, *Steyngate, Stayngate* 1275 St. Peter doc., Mon. VI, 3; *Staingate* a. 1269 Cockers. Ch.; *Stainegate* e. 15. cent. St. Leonardi Reg., Mon. VI, 2; now Stonegate (street) in the city of York.[6]

Steingata *[Siward de]* Yo. 1294 Ch. R.[6] Identical with prec. name?

Steinegateside, *Stain-, Stayn-* Yo. 13. cent., *Staingatelith* 1233 Guisbrough Ch.; in Glaisdale.[7]

Steyngraft, *Steyngraf furlong* Li. 1268 Ch. R.; in Dunstall (Corringham).[8]

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[1] From O.W.Scand. *stein-vegr* (O.Swed. *stenvägher*) = O.E. *stān-weg* 'a paved road'. Stanwick stands on the ancient Roman road which runs to the north from Boroughbridge; hence the name. However, most of the M.E. spellings have the geminate *gg*, from which it seems that the name was in course of time confused with and changed for O.W.Scand. *stein-veggr*, for which see prec. name. The Rector of the parish kindly informs me that nothing can be traced on the spot now that might account for such a change in the name.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *bekkr* (O.Swed. *bækker*), or M.E. *beck* 'a stream'.

[3] O.W.Scand. *bryggja*: 1) a bridge (rare), 2) a gangway, pier, landingstage; or M.E. *brygge, brigge* (O.E. *brycg*) 'a bridge'.

[4] O.W.Scand. *eng* f. or *enge* n. 'meadow'.

[5] 2nd mem. may represent O.W.Scand. *flǫt* f. (gen. *flatar*) or *flǫtr* m. 'a piece of level ground, plain'. Both the words are found in O.Norw. place-names.

[6] M.E. *gate* 'way, road, street', from O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *gata*.

[7] 2nd mem. as in preceding name, 3rd mem. originally perhaps O.W.Scand. *síða* (with the *ð* rendered by *d* in the A.N. fashion) 'a slope', or O.E., M.E. *side*, N.E. side, later on replaced by O.W.Scand. *hlíð* or M.E. *hlið* (cf. under Upleatham, p. 17).

[8] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *grǫftr (grǫptr)* in the sense of 'a hole dug' (see FRITZNER) = *grǫf* (O.Dan. *graf*). The latter word can be contained in the 2nd form above.

Stayngruft Yo. 1294 Cal. Inq.; near Kexby?[1]
Steyngrund Li. 1301 Ch. R.; in Killingholme.[2]
Steynhille Nott.(?) 1318 Brodholm ch., Mon. VI; near Broadholme, or Saxilby Li.[3]
Staynhou Yo. 1231 Guisbrough Ch.; in Coatham.[4]
Staynhou Li. 1257 Ch. R.; in Gainsthorpe.[4]
Steinhouberg Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Thirsk.[5]
Steincroft, *Staincroft* c. 1200 Rievaulx Ch. Not identifiable.[6]
Staincroft Nhb. 1262 Ch. R.; *Stayncroft* 1298 Hexham ch., Mon. VI; near Warden. Now Stoncroft?[6]
Staincroswyis (MS. M. *uiis*) Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; near Hawsker.[7]
Staincrossegate Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; near Suffield village.[8]
Steinrig *(via antiqua que vocatur S.)* Yo. date uncertain, Pontefr. Ch. Near Stainborough?[9]
Stainsike Wm. 1210-46 Cockers. Ch.; in Mansergh.[10]
Stainschalehill Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Marske.[11]
Staynescogh Yo. St. Andrew's ch., date uncertain; cannot be identified.[12]
Stainwath Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; in Castle Bolton.[13]
Stainwathlithe Lanc. 1216-35 Cockersand Ch.; in Forton.[14]
With regard to the Nottingham field-names *Stener, Steynour,* etc. see in Ch. 3.

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[1] Miswritten for *-graft* (see prec. name); or identical with the O.Dan. *gruft,* which, according to LUND, is recorded once in the same sense as *grift, gryft:* 1) digging, 2) a ditch; see KALKAR. Provided the isolated O.Dan. form *gruft* is not merely a misspelling for *gryft,* was it borrowed from German? OHG., MHG. *gruft* 'Höhle, Höhlung'. German Gruft.

[2] O.W.Scand. *grund* 'a green field, grassy plain', or O.E., M.E. *grund,* NE. ground.

[3] M.E. *hül, hil* (O.E. *hyll*) 'hill'.

[4] 2nd mem. as in Stony Keld (above, p. 86).

[5] 2nd mem. as in prec. name, 3rd mem. O.W.Scand. *berg* or M.E. *berg*; cf. p. 13, n. 2.

[6] O.E., M.E. *croft* 'a small, enclosed field', see further N.E.D.

[7] 2nd mem. as in Staincross, above p. 86; 3rd mem. is difficult to explain, if it is not a corrupt writing for O.E. *wisc, wisce,* N.E. dial. *wish* 'a damp meadow, a marsh'.

[8] Cf. Staincross, above p. 86, and Stonegate, p. 89.

[9] On 2nd mem. see p. 53 n. 4.

[10] On 2nd mem. see p. 72 n. 7.

[11] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *skáli,* see p. 52 n. 2; 3rd mem. M.E. *hil* 'hill'.

[12] O.W.Scand. *skógr* 'a wood'; cf. Scorbrough, above p. 15.

[13] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *vað* 'a ford'; cf. further p. 27 n. 1.

[14] 2nd mem. as in prec. name; compare further p. 89 n. 7.

Steinolve mere Li. 1314 Ch. R.; near Huttoft.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Steinólfr* (La.); O.Swed. *Stenulf*. For some instances of the name occurring in DoB., see Björkman, Personennamen, p. 130.[1] The same name enters into

Staynolcroft Lanc. c. 1220-25, *Staynolviscroft* 1241-51 Cockers. Ch.; in Caton.[2]

Stainolvisridding, *Staynolfisridding* Lanc. 1268-80 Cockers. Ch.; in Caton.[3]

Swaynsby Yo. l. 13. cent. Br.Mus.; *Swaynesby* 1313, *Swaneby* 1314 Pat. R.; *Swainby* 1367 Cal. Inq.; now Swainby, in Whorlton.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Sveinn* (O.E.Scand. *Svēn*), hardly the side-form *Sveini* (O.Dan. *Sueni* on a Runic stone, see Wimmer), which cannot always be properly discriminated from the former in place-name compounds.[4] *Sveinn* was one of the most usual Scandinavian names in England during Old and Middle English times; instances of it are to be found in almost any record of those periods. Cf. further Björkman, Personennamen, p. 139 f., and Rygh, Personnavne, p. 241 f. The same name occurs in the following M.E. place-names (*Sveini* perhaps in the first two):

Suanebi Yo. DoB.; *Sweinesby* 12. cent. Coverham ch., Mon. VI, 2; *Swayneby* 1183 Richmond Reg.; *Sweyneby* 1297 A.Plac.; *Swayneby* Rot. H., Kirkby, 1301 Yo. Subs., 1318 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1367 Cal. Inq.; *Suanisby* 1313 Pat. R.; *Swaynle* No. vill.; *Swaynby* 1302 Rot. Orig., 1388 Cal. Inq.; now Swainby, near Pickhill.[5]

Sueinford Le. 1175-76, 1179-80, *Suinford* 1178-79 Pipe R.; *Suneford, Suineford* e. 13. cent., *Swyneford* c. 1240 Br.Mus., etc.; now Swinford.[6]

Sweineshurst Lanc. 1251 Ch. R.; *Sueneshurst* 1261, *Swyneshurst* 1333 S. Thomas Ch.; now Swineshurst, according to the Editor of Ch. R. I. Not given by Wyld & Hirst.[7]

[1] As for 2nd mem. M.E. *mere* see p. 28, n. 3.

[2] As for 2nd mem. see preceding page, n. 6.

[3] As for 2nd mem., O.E. *hryding*, see p. 21. n. 2.

[4] 2nd member as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[5] 2nd member as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Several places in Norway called *Sucinaby* appear in E.J.

[6] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford. *Sveinn* was here very early changed for M.E. *swīn* 'swine'. There were a good number of places called *Swinford* in Mediæval England.

[7] O.E. *hyrst*, M.E. *hurst, hirste:* 1) an eminence, hillock, knoll, or bank, esp. one of a sandy nature 2) a grove of trees, copse, wood, wooded eminence, etc. N.E. dial. *hurst, hirst,* also in Lanc.; see E.D.D. Remarkable is the appearance of the M.E. southern form *hurst* in the spellings of this place-name, where we should expect to find the northern *hirste*.

Suenelund Yo. 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Swanneslund* 1294 Cal. Inq.; *Suanneslund* 1296 Br.Mus.; *Swaneslund, -lunt* T.N.; *Swainesland* 1300, *Swannesland* 1310, *Swanesland* 1424 Cal. Inq.; now Swanland, in N. Ferriby.[1]

Suenesat Lanc. DoB.; *Suainessete, Svainescot* c. 1200 Cockers. Ch.; now Swainshead, in Wyresdale.[2]

Swainestorp, Li. 1202, *Sweynestorp* 1240 Li. rec.; *Sweinestorp* 1210-12 Liber rub.; *Svainnestorp* Rot. H.; *Swaynethorp* 1291 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Sweynesthorp* T.N.; *Swynethorp* 1316 F.A.; now Swinethorpe.[3]

Sueinestorp, *Torp* Norf. DoB.; *Sueinestorp* 1196 Feet of fines, 1198 Cal. fin.; *Swenestorp* 1250 Cal. fin.; *Sveinstorpe, Sweynestorp, Sueynistorpe* Rot. H.; *Swcynnysthorp* Tax. eccl.; *Sveinestorp* T.N.; *Swynystorp* 1302 F.A.; *Sweynesthorp* 1314 C. Inq., 1316 f. F.A., 1319 Br.Mus., 1341 Pat. R., 1346 Norf. Aid, 1432 f. Cal. Inq., 1496 C. Inq., etc.; *Swynesthorp* 1326 Cl. R.; *Sweynstorp* 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Sweynsthorp* 1401 F.A.; *Swenethorp* 1364, *Swaynesthorp* 1466 Cal. Inq.; now Swainsthorpe.[3]

Swayinsacre Yo. 1218-34 Guisbrough Ch.; near Lowcross.[4]

Sweinesbrig Li. 1208 Li. rec.; in Gainsthorpe.[5]

Swenesford Suff. Rot. H.; in Thingoe hundred. From O.E.Scand. *Svēn.*[6]

Swaynes Gores Nott. 1331 Nott. rec.[7]

Swaynnesker Yo. c. 1200 Guisbrough Ch.; in Marton.[8]

Sweiynkeldes Yo. 1231 Guisbrough Ch.; in Coatham.[9]

Suaynislond Lanc. 1200-35 Cockers. Ch.; in Stainall.[10]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *lundr* 'a grove'; cf. under Londonthorpe, above p. 13.

[2] 2nd mem. looks like a M.E. continuation of the O.E. *sǣte, sēte* 'a settlement' (Middendorf), but nothing can be said with certainty in consequence of the differing spellings.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4. Cf. the O.Dan. place-name *Swenstorp* SRD. — There was in M.E. times also a place-name, *Sweynton* Yo. 1334 Rot. Orig., *Swaynton* 1367 Cal. Rot. Ch., which. I cannot identify. Compare *Swaynston* in LVD.

[4] 2nd mem. is from O.W.Scand. *akr*, or M.E. *aker* (O.E. *æcer*) 'a piece of tilled or arable land'.

[5] On 2nd mem. see p. 89 n. 3.

[6] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford.

[7] M.E. *gore* 'a wedge-shaped strip of land'; see further under Gargrave, p. 46 f.

[8] M.E. *ker* < O.W.Scand. *kiarr* 'copsewood, a marsh'. N.E. dial. *car*.

[9] On 2nd mem. M.E. *keld*, see p. 28 n. 1.

[10] O.E., M.E. *lond, land* 'land, country' = O.Scand. *land*.

Sueningatuna Norf. DoB.; *Sueingetun* 1198, *Swaningeton* 1202, *Sweiningeton* 1220 Cal. fin.; *Swenygton* 1285 Cal. fin., Tax. eccl.; *Sweningtun* 1294, 1343 Cal. Inq., 1308 f. Cal. Rot. Ch., 1432 f. Cal. Inq.; *Swenyngton* Tax. eccl., 1296 etc. Cl. R.; 1334 Norf. Ass., 1316 f., 1428 F.A., 1319, 1433 Pat. R., 1332 Rot. Orig., etc.; *Sweinton* 1323 Cal. Inq.; *Sweington* 1346 Norf. Aid; *Sweyngton* 1401 F.A.; now Swannington.[1]

1st mem. is gen. plur. of **Sveiningr* (O.Dan. *Swēningr*, see Wimmer), a patronymic derivative of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Sveinn* (see preceding names). A side-form *Sveinungr* occurs in La., and was a common name in Norway in the Middle Ages. Of the same origin is

Swāington Le. 1246 A.Plac.; *Swaynington* 1302 Rot. Orig.; *Swainuton* 1308 A.Plac.; *Swanyngton* 1316 F.A.; *Swanygton* 1327 Le. Subs. R.; now Swannington, near Whitwick.[1]

Swenebrec Lanc. 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI, 1; near Ulverston.

Judging by the only spelling on record, the 1st member must have been the genitive of the O.E.Scand. man's name *Sveni*, for which see above under Swainby.[2] A person called *Sweni Child* occurs among the witnesses to a 12th century grant to the Priory of Penwortham, Lanc., Mon. III.

Tofto Swengulf Suff., see further in Ch. 7.

Swaytesflat, *Swaytesflath* (2×) Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Guisbrough.

1st mem. is probably an unrecorded O.W.Scand. **sveite*, an *ia*-derivative of O.W.Scand. *sveit* f., which signified 1) a troop or party of men, generally (= O.Swed. *svēt;* cf. O.E. *sweot*); as a military term: a small force forming a tactical unit in the field; 2 a) as in the compound *þingmannasveit* the district inhabited by the liegemen of a certain *goði* (priest and chief), in Iceland; 2 b) a settlement, tract or district in a general sense, especially in Iceland. In the present case **sveiti* may have been used in the first or the last of these applications. The type of the word presents no difficulties, seeing that it is paralleled by not a few similar formations in the O.W.Scand. language; compare, e. g. the synonyms *fylki* 'a troop, also a territorial division, district' *: folk* n. 'people'; *hverfi : hvarf* f. 'a district'; *byrgi : borg* f. 'fortified

[1] On 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[2] O.W.Scand. *brekka* 'slope, hill-side'.

place';*þveite : þveit* f. 'piece'; *enge : eng* f. 'meadow', etc. In this connection should be noticed the 2nd member of the name in question, which is O.W.Scand. *flǫt* f. or *flǫtr* m. (gen. *flatar*) 'a plain, a level piece of ground'; perhaps the compound was applied to some sort of meeting-place for the men of the neighbourhood. The name, which is of distinctly O.W.Scand. origin, is possessed of no small interest. In the immediate vicinity we find the field-name *Thorfinflat* (from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Þorfinnr*); moreover, it is worthy of note that we are here in perhaps the most Scandinavian part of Yorkshire, not far from the *Thingwala* of the Whitby district (see above, p. 16), *Thynghou* (13. cent. Rievaulx Ch., now Finney Hill) in West Harlsey, and *Tinghoudale* (Guisbrough Ch.) in Lowcross, both the last from O.W.Scand. *þing-haugr* 'hill of laws' (cf. Fritzner). For further details about *sveit* see Maurer, Vorlesungen über Altnord. Rechtsgeschichte IV, p. 108 f., and Steenstrup, Danelag, p. 141 f.

Thornehowgayle Wm. 1402, *Thornthowegayll* 1422 Cal. Inq.; near Whinfell Forest.

The last member is O.W.Scand. *geil*, for which see above, p. 56, under Hugill.[1]

Thursgayle *super Use* Yo. c. 1300 Guisbrough Ch. Not identifiable. 2nd member apparently as in preceding name.[2]

Durgartun Norf. C.D. 783 (A.D. c. 1044); *Turgaitune*, *Turgartunā*, *-tunet* DoB.; *Thurgarton* t. John A.Plac.; *Thurgareton* 1218, *Thurgerton* 1273 Cal. fin.; *Thurgerton* 1253 Ch. R., Tax. eccl., 1302 f., 1401 F.A.; *Thurgereton* Rot. H.; *Thurg'ton* t. Edw' I. Plac. Warr.; *Thurgarton* 1316 F.A.; now Thurgarton.

1st mem. seems to be the O.Dan. man's name *Thurger*, or O.W.Scand. *Þorgeirr*.[3] The *a*-vowel of the 2nd syllable in some of the above spellings may depend on the O.Scand. contraction *ai* < *ā*, which took place in a strongly stressed syllable following upon the main stress (Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 54, 3, b); it may of course also have been introduced from the native personal names compounded with O.E. *gār*. The same name occurs in

[1] From an obsolete(?) place-name **Thornehow*.

[2] From the O.E. pers. name *Þur (Þor)*, probably a shortened form of O.E.Scand. compound names beginning with *Þur-* (O.W.Scand. *Þor-*). Cf. Björkman, Personennamen, p. 146 f.

[3] On 2nd mem. see above p. 7 n. 1.

Turgesland Yo. DoB.; *Turgarland* 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Turgerlande* 1226 Bracton; *Thurkerland* No. vill.; *Thurgerland* 1334 Br.Mus., 1347 Cat.A.D., 1378 Poll-tax; *Thurgerlond* 1346, *Thorgarlond* 1349 Pat. R.; now Thurgoland.[1]

Turgarstune, *Torgartone* Nott. DoB.; *Turgertone* 1201 Rot. Canc.; *Thurgarton* e. 12. cent. Prior of Thurgarton ch., Mon VI; 1231 f. Ch. R., 1235 Gray's Reg., 1274 Giffard's Reg., 1294 f. Pat. R., I.N., etc.; *Turgarton* 1228 Gray's Reg., T.N.; *Thurgerton* 1272 Giffard's Reg., 1273 Pat. R., 1281 Wickwane's Reg., Rot. H., 1295 Pat. R., 1316, 1428 F.A.; now Thurgarton (parish & wapentake).[2]

[Only anglicized forms are recorded of *Thurgarston* Nhb. 1375 Cal. Inq.; *Turgarestone* Staff. DoB., which I am unable to identify, and *Thurkeston* Le. 1327 Subs. R., *Thurgaston* 1395 Br.Mus.; now Thurcaston.]

Turstanestone Le. DoB.; *Turstanestona* 1124 Le. Survey; *Turstanestune* t. Hen. II. Sempr. ch.; *Tursteinestun* t. Rich. I.—John Br.Mus.; *Thurstainton* 1246 A.Plac.; *Thurstanestone* t. Hen. III. Liber rub.; *Thurstinton* 1294 Pat. R., T.N., 1300 Cal. Inq., 1301 Cl. R.; *Thurstynton* 1346 Rot. Orig.; *Thurstanton* Rot. H., T.N., 1327 C. Inq., 1428 F.A.; *Thurstington* 1325 Cal. Inq., 1327 Subs. R., 1344-46 Br.Mus.; *Thursinton* 1316 F.A.; *Thursington* 1420 Cal. Inq.; *Thurstyngton, Thruscyngton* 1428 F.A.; *Thursyngton* 1486 C. Inq.; now Thrussington.[2]

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *þorsteinn*, O.E.Scand. *Thursten*, which is very well instanced in Old and Middle English records. For further details see Björkman, Personennamen, p. 161 f. It forms, moreover, the 1st member of

Turstanestuna Suff. DoB.; *Tursteinton* 1223 Pat. R.; *Thurstanistan* 1287 Cl. R.; *Thurstaneston* 1286 Cal. Inq., Rot. H., 1334 C. Inq., 1341 Suff. fines; *Thurstanston* 1294 Cal. Inq.; *Thurstanton* Rot. H., 1316 F.A., 1334 Cal. Inq.; *Thursteinton* 1363 Cal. Inq.; *Thurstonton* 1467 Pat. R.; now Thurston.[2]

[Only anglicized forms are recorded of

Thurstaneston Chs. c. 1274 C. Inq., 1420 Br.Mus.; *Thurstanton* 1332 C. Inq., *Thurstanston* ibid., 1446 Cat.A.D.; now Thurstaston.[2]

[1] On 2nd mem. see p. 92 n. 10.

[2] On 2nd mem. see above p. 7 n. 1.

Thurstanby Yo. Kirkby, 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1314 C. Inq., 1315 f. Cl. R., 1352 f. Cal. Inq., 1475 Pat. R.; *Thorstanby* 1301 Yo. Subs.; 1379, 1417 Cal. Inq.; now Throxenby.[1]

Tostenland Yo. DoB.; *Thurstanland* 1202 Ped. fin. Eb., T.N.. 1297 Wakefield Court R., 1304 Rot. Orig., 1347 Pat. R., 1378 Poll-tax, etc.; now Thurstonland.[2]

Thurstanfeld Cumb. 1334 C. Inq., 1350 Cal. Inq.; *Thurstanefeld* 1432 Cal. Inq., 1485 C. Inq.; now Thurstonfield (Burgh by Sands par.).[3]

Thurstanesfeld Lanc. 1246-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Ashton with Stodday.[3]

Thorstanflet Li. Rot. H.[4]

Thurstansidegreve Lanc. 1246-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Ashton with Stodday.[5]]

Thurstaneswatter Lanc. t. Hen. II Furness Ch.; *Thurstaineswater, Thurstainewater* 1196, *Turstaines-, Turstineswater* c. 1200, *Thrustain-, Thurstin-, Thurstanwater* 13. cent., *Thurstanwatre, -watir* 1412 ibid.; the ancient name of the present Coniston Lake.[6]

The forms *Turstines-, Thurstin-* above might reflect the O.W.Scand. shortening *ei* > *i* under weak stress; cf. the O.Norw. 13. cent. form *Kolbinn* < *Kolbœinn,* Ark. X, 175 and Noreen, Altisl. Gr. 145 a 1. On the other hand they may represent the Normanized form *Turstīn* of the O.Scand. name, in which the final sounds have been modified so as to coincide with the Norman personal suffix *-īn.* This latter explanation seems preferable with regard to the first of the two. For additional details about this by no means rare phenomenon in early M.E., see Björkman, M.E. Personennamen auf *-īn,* Arch. 123.

O.W.Scand. þveit in M.E. place-names.

O.W.Scand. *þveit* f. properly meant 'a cut-off piece'; when occurring in place-names it seems to have been applied to an isolated parcel of land, a clearing, or an out-lying cottage with its paddock. Cf. Norw. dial. *tveit* 'a clearing in the forest, a plot of grass-land in the forest or among cliffs', etc. Of cognate words should be noticed the collateral form *þveiti* 'a unit of weight or

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. O.Scand. *land* 'land, country', or O.E., M.E. *land.*

[3] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'.

[4] M.E. *flēt* (O.E. *flēot*) 'a place where water flows; an arm of the sea; a creek, inlet, run of water'; O.W.Scand. *fljót.*

[5] O.W.Scand. *síða,* or M.E. *sīde* (see above p. 89 n. 7); M.E. *grēfe* 'a trench, quarry', see Stratmann-Bradley.

[6] M.E. *water* (O.E. *wæter*) 'water'.

money', and *þveitr* 'incision, cut'; besides, representing other grades of ablaut, O.E. *þwītan* 'to cut, shave off', and *ʒeþwit* 'what is shaved off, chip'. It is stated by Rygh (Indl. p. 83) that *þveit* enters into about 600 Norwegian place-names, of which one third are uncompounded. With regard to the further distribution of the word as a place-name element Rygh adds that it is not found in Iceland, nor in the Norwegian colonies in the West, but that during the Viking Age it was introduced into northern England from Denmark. Yet, as has subsequently been pointed out by Jakobsen (Shetl. Stednavne), the word actually occurs in some Shetlandic place-names; it is also found, sporadically, in Scotland, as may be learnt from Johnston, Place-names of Scotland, Introd. p. 69. From the local nomenclature of the isle of Man it seems to be missing. The statement of Rygh that *þveit* in North Engl. place-names is to be attributed to Danish influence, which view is likewise put forward in Cleasby-Vigfusson's Dict. is altogether unfounded and untenable. See below.

In the E.Scand. languages we find O.Dan. *tved[e]:* meadow-land, a tongue of land, peninsula; often used in place-names, apparently with much the same meaning as the O.W.Scand. equivalent (see Stenstrup, Da. Stednavne, p. 105). Cf. Swed. dial. *tvet* 'chip'. etc. (Rietz), also frequent in Swedish place-names in the sense of 'a detached plot of cultivated land' (see Sveriges Ortnamn). On the Norman place-names supposed to contain the same word see Fabricius p. 317 f.

Passing on to the English territory we look in vain for the word in the M.E. vocabulary, as far as this is covered by the investigations of Björkman (Scand. Loan-words). That, however, it was in appellative use in Scand. England is evidenced by a passage in a charter signed by Henry II. (1154-89) and relating to the Priory of Carlisle (Mon. VI, 1), which specifies some pieces of land in Ireby, Cumb. as '*Langethweit, et Stalethweit, et alios Thweiter qui pertinent ad Langethwest*'. Here we have before us the O.W.Scand. acc. plur., normally **þveitar* — not recorded as appellative in O.W.Scand. literature? — with the inflexional *-ar* reduced, as usual, to *-er* in M.E. Moreover, the word still survives in N.E. dial. *thwait* (Lakel. Yo. Lanc.): 1) a forest clearing, a piece of land fenced off or unenclosed, a low meadow 2) a fell, the shelving part of a mountain-side 3) a single house, small hamlet.

O.W.Scand. *þveit* is preserved, lastly, in a great number of English place-names. Those marked on the modern maps have been enquired into by Worsaae (Minder) and Browne (Transact. of Philol. Soc. 1880-81), who arrive at somewhat divergent results as to their frequency in the several counties. The instances considered by these two writers are by far outnumbered by those from the M.E. records adduced by myself below. This is illustrated by the following tabular view comprising the entire material:

	N.E. thwaite-names according to		M.E. *þveit*-names, dealt with below:
	Worsaae	Browne	
Cumb.	43	6	52
Wm.	14	4	23
Lanc.	14	2	43
Yo.	9	2	83
Li.	—	—	11
Nott.	—	—	5
Derb.	—	—	2
Le.	—	—	3
North.	—	—	1
Norf.	2	2	7
Suff.	1	1	2
	83	17	232

A glance at the Maps of the Ordnance Survey will show that in Yorkshire and the three north-western counties there are nowadays not a few other thwaite-names, in addition to those recorded in M.E. Such is particularly the case in Cumberland, where according to Taylor (Names and their histories p. 377), whose calculations I am for the present not in a position to verify, more than a hundred instances in all are to be found. It appears, then, that many of the present names of this kind came into existence only in the N.E. period. This fact holds good, even though due allowance has to be made for the possibility that some of those names did exist in M.E. times, though they happen not to be recorded in the sources of the present work. Now it should be remembered, for one thing, that a great percentage of the M.E. *þveit*-names dealt with below were field-names, that have, in progress of time, become obsolete, or at any rate have disappeared from the map. Furthermore, a considerable number of the mo-

dern thwaite-names had, during the M.E. period, quite different terminals, which in N.E. times were exchanged for -thwaite owing, to the influence exercised by the host of names composed with this terminal. A few examples may be adduced by way of illustration. The present Stangerthwaite in Wm. was in the 14th cent. *Stangrewath* (see above p. 16). Ickenthwaite in North Lanc. — not given by Wyld & Hirst — was as late as A.D. 1534 *Yccornewyth* (see Furness Reg., Mon. V), from O.W.Scand. **íkorna-viðr* = *íkorna-skógr* 'squirrel's wood'. Thornthwaite, near Boltons Cumb., on the river Waver, was *Thoraldwath* 1294 Cl. R., *Thoraldewathe* 1350 Cal. Inq., from O.W.Scand. *þóraldr* or *þóraldi* pers. names, and *vað* 'a ford'. Considerations of space forbid me to treat of any more similar cases.

As may be seen from the tabular summary above, the M.E. *þveit*-names formed a characteristic feature of the local nomenclature in the northern, esp. north-western counties, whereas in those south of the Humber they were few and far between. Still more than thirty instances do occur in the Southumbrian counties, where the word *þveit* as a place-name element is by no means so rare as is asserted by Taylor (l. c.) on the basis of the modern nomenclature.

With regard to the origin and age of the M.E. *þveit*-names some further remarks may be appropriate. Not one reliable instance seems to be on record in the O.E. period. Domesday has a very few, belonging to Yo. and Norf. Several others appear during the latter half of the 12th century in the monastic chartularies and registers, the Pipe rolls and in various other local documents. But the majority of these names are not met with until the 13th and 14th centuries, or even later. Their gradual appearance in literature reflects, to a certain extent, a progressive process of settlement, in the course of which a large proportion of them were coined, and the localities indicated by them were growing in importance. In many cases, when a *þveit*-name occurs for the first time in the records, it is expressly said to design a *campus*, or *pastura*, or *cultura*, or *clausum*, a meadow, vaccary, &c. It seems, in fact, that, as far as the earlier half of the M.E period is concerned, the bulk of these names are to be regarded as mere field-names, mostly designations of reclaimed land, or of out-of-the-way places, which, as time went on, were built upon and permanently inhabited; many of them then formed some kind

of dependencies of an old manor or demesne. In the same direction points the evidence that may be gathered from the quality of the 1st members of these names. For as 1st members we not seldom find the name of a township or a village, or else some other place-name, at times one that has not come down to our own times and, in consequence, cannot be precisely located. In other cases we find names of different varieties of corn, plants or trees, or words embodying some conspicuous natural feature of the spot.

It is a matter of special interest that in the case of a fairly great number of the names treated below, exact parallels can be adduced from O.Norw. territory, not nearly so often from O.E.Scand. This squares well with the fact that most M.E. *þveit*-names belong to counties, the local nomenclature of which is, in several other respects, demonstrably O.W.Scand. in form, as that of the three north-western counties (Lanc. Cumb. Wm.) and Yorkshire. On the other hand it is possible, or even probable, that at least in certain Southumbrian counties the *þveit*-names owed their origin to Danish settlers. The O.Dan. *tved* seems to have been of rather frequent occurrence in the oldest Danish place-nomenclature, as far as we can form an opinion on this with the aid of the LCD. and contemporary charters and deeds in SRD., compared with the material given by Steenstrup (l. c.), and Madsen (Sjælandske Stednavne, p. 251). But still the numerical superiority of the corresponding O.Norw. names is salient. Such facts go a long way to disprove the view held by Rygh and others (see above) that the occurrence of thwaite in North English place-names would be due to Danish influence.

As to the natural site of the places designated by thwaite it is true of nearly all north of the Humber that they belong to the most mountainous and rugged districts. Very often they are situated on mountain-sides sloping towards a lake, river or a valley. On the Cumberland thwaite-names an early 16th century writer, John Denton (see above p. 30 n.), makes the following reflections: '... But in several parts and pieces as they are marked by nature, differing in form and quality of soil or otherwise by the inhabitants inclosed from the barren wastes of the fells, such pieces of land are now and were of old called Thwaites in most places of the shire, sometimes with addition of their quality, as Brackenthwaite of fearns, Sivithwaite of rushes', etc.

The spelling of *þveit* in place-names seems to have presented great difficulties to the mediæval scribes, to whom the proper form and meaning of the word must often have been unfamiliar, if we may judge as much from the many corrupt spellings. This is also evident from the circumstance that *þveit* was occasionally mistaken for a different word, such as *vað* 'ford', *wei* 'way', &c, see below Langthwaite Yo., Braworth, *Steinþweit.* In the 13th and 14th centuries we not seldom come across the writing *-weit*, which seems to represent a continuation of the late O.E. tendency to drop the interdental spirant *þ* between consonants; examples are given by Kluge in Paul's Gr. p. 1008, and, from Gaimar, by Rathmann, p. 41, Anm. 3; cf. also the place-name *Norwolde* Norf. 1302 F.A., but *Northwolde* 1316 f. ibid., now Northwold. The spirant must have been particularly subject to being lost, when it got into contact with a dental sound belonging to the 1st member; see, e. g. Gunthwaite, *Geghestueit, Estweyt;* cf. also *Ruhwaith, Storthwayt*, &c. On spontaneous dialectal development depends the loss of *w* in *thweit*, which is well instanced in North Engl. local records, where spellings like *-theit, -thait* are to be found from the 12th cent. onwards. From the material brought together in Ellis, E. Engl. Pronunciation V, p. 605 (cf. also in Hope's Glossary) may be learnt that in many place-names in Cumberland -thwaite is still in our days pronounced without the *w*: [thɐt].

Here belongs the following M.E. material:

Thueyt Suff. t. Hen. III. Br. Mus., I.N.; *Theuyt* 1281 C. Inq.; *Tweyt* 1302 Br. Mus., 1381 Suff. Poll-tax; *Thweyte* No. vill., 1453 Suff. Tax R.; *Thuayt* 1405 Pat. R.; now Thwaite.

Dweyt Norf. C.D. 1785 (1044-47; charter starred by Kemble); *Tuit* DoB.; *Tweyt, Tweych, Tuyth, Twheyt* Tax. eccl.; *Thweyt* 1270 Ch. R., 1316 F.A., 1347 Br. Mus., 1349 Pat. R.; *Thwyt* 1331 Cat. A.D.; *Thweyt* 1357 f. ibid., 1312 Cal. fin.; now Thwaite in S. Erpingham.

Thweyt Norf. 1. Hen. III. Br. Mus., 1294 Pat. R., 1334 Norf. Ass., 1428 F.A., &c.; *Thweyt, Thwyt* Tax. eccl; *Thueyt* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1323 Ch. R.; *Thweit* 1313 Pat. R.; *Thweyte*, 1316 F.A.; *Thweyth* 1314 C. Inq., 1346 F.A., 1408 Br. Mus.; *Thwet* 1321 Br. Mus.; *Thwyt* 1342 Pat. R.; *Theweyt* 1302 F.A., 1419 Cal. Inq.; *Thewyt* 1401 F.A.; now Thwaite, in Loddon.

Thwayte Yo. 1396 Pat. R.; now Thwaite, in Muker.

Thwayte, *Thwaite* Yo. 1372, *Twayte* 1424 Cal. Inq.; now (Hilla) Thwaite, near Hackness.

Thwayt Yo. 1353 f., 1406 Cal. Inq.; *Thwayte* 1399 Pat. R., 1432 Cal. Inq.; now Thwaite, near Kirkby Malzeard?

Thwait *sub Huglawe* Yo. 1308 Whitby Ch.; near Whitby.

Thuait Li. 12. cent. Bardney Reg., Mon. I.; near Withern, or Woodthorpe.

Allerthuayt Cumb. t. Edw. I Plac. Warr.; *Allerthwayt* 1398 Cal. Inq. — Not identifiable. Near Lorton?[1]

Alwalthweit Nott. 1208 R. Oblat. — Near Skegby?[2]

Alwardethuait, *-thueit* Yo. 1239 Monk-Bretton Reg., Mon. V.[3]

Anisthwaith Cumb. 1354 Cat. A.D.[4]

Appelthweit Cumb. 1222 P. Pipe R.; *Apeltweit* 1232 Pat. R.; *Appelthwayt* 1304 Cal. Inq.; *Apilthuuayt* 1308 C. Inq.; *Appalthait, -thwait* 1398 Cal. Inq.; now Applethwaite.[5]

Appeltwayt, *Applethwayt* Wm. 1271, *Appeltweht* 1273 C. Inq.; *Appilthwayt* 1283 Lanc. Inq.; *Apelthwait* 1334 C. Inq.; *Apilthwayt* 1344 Cl. R.; *Appelthwayt* 1379, *Appilthwayt* 1442 f. *Appulthwayte* 1446 f. Pat. R.; now Applethwaite.[5]

Apiltretuait Lanc. 1221-46 etc. Cockersand Ch.; *Appeltrethwayt* 1284 Lanc. Assize R.; now Appletreethwaite? In or near Caton.[6]

Ast Thewayt Wm. 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Astthetwayt* 1309 C. Inq.; *Astenthwayt* 1323 Rot. Orig.; *Astthwayt* 1345 Cl. R.; *Asthwayt* 1374, *Asthwayte* 1433 Cal. Inq.; near Kendal.[7]

Auesthwayt Cumb. 1255 f. P. Pipe R.; *Ostethwayte* 1396 Cal. Inq. The place is apparently identical with the one called Austhwaite in Sir Daniel Fleming's survey of Cumberland (cf. p. 6 n. 2), in which it is stated to be 'now called Dalegarth'.[8]

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[1] 1st mem. is O.W. Scand. *alri*, a collective belonging to *alr* (*ǫlr*) 'an alder-tree' (Alnus), or the M.E. equivalent *alr, aller* (O.E. *alor*). O.W.Scand. *alri* occurs also in some place-names in Scandinavia, see FRITZNER.

[2] O.W.Scand. *Alvaldr (Qlvaldr)*, or *Allvaldi (Qlvaldi)*, O.Dan. *Alvold*, a man's name. Or from O.E. *Alweald* (SEARLE)?

[3] O.Dan. *Alward*, a man's name.

[4] Perhaps from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Án* (La.), O.Dan. *An*; cf. *Ana* in the list of Ælfric's bondsmen.

[5] M.E. *appel* (O.E. *æppel*) 'apple'.

[6] M.E. *appel-tre*, N.E. apple-tree.

[7] Possibly from M.E. **ast*, the northern equivalent of the South Engl. (M.E.) *ost* < O.E. *āst* 'a kin', N.E. oast. Or is the *t* excrescent, and was the 1st mem. originally O.W.Scand. *áss* 'mountain ridge'?

[8] O.W.Scand. *aust* 'east'; cf. further in Ch. 4, *Austerbi*.

Axethaithoveth Yo. 12th cent. Whitby Ch.; near Ugglebarnby.[1]

Baggethwait (9×), *Baggthwait* (1×), *Bagethwait* (2×) Yo. 1328 Rosedal ch., Mon. IV; near Rosedale Abbey, or Cropton.[2]

Bastuntwait Cumb. 1240-47 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Bastonthwait* 1303 Pat. R.; *Bastingthweyt* 1308 Cl. R.; *Bascenthweyt* 1311 Ch. R.; *Bastenthwayt* 1322 Pat. R., 1341 Rot. Orig., 1358 Test. Karl.; *Bastynwhait* 1343 Cl. R.; *Bestenthwayte* 1389 Pat. R.; *Bastinthwait* 1398 Cal. Inq.; *Bastenthuait* 1403 Pat. R.; now Bassenthwaite.[3]

Bertwait Yo. a. 1180, *Berthuait* c. 1146 (Papal confirm.) Whitby Ch. — In the Whitby district. Site unknown.[4]

Biggetheit Lanc. 1241, *Bigetwayt* 1246 Lanc. Assize R. *Biggethwayt* 1323 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Byggetwayt, Bygthwayt* 1323. Lanc. Inq.; *Bigtwait* 1325 Lanc. Court R.; *Bighthwait* 1374 Rot Orig.; *Bigthwayte* 1433 Cal. Inq.; now Bigthwaite.[5]

Birketwait Yo. 12. cent. (?) Rievaulx Ch.; *Birtthwayth* 1249 Gray's Reg.; *Birthwait* 1320 f. Cl. R.; now Birthwaite.[6]

Birnethuayte Cumb. 1485 C. Inq.; now Burnthwaite (Blackhall).[7]

Birthwayte Le. 1336 Cal. Rot. Ch. — Near Hallaton?[8]

[1] From O.Scand. *ax* 'an ear of corn'; 2nd component is O.W.Scand. *hǫfuð*, here obviously in the same application as M.E. *hefed* in the sense b) which is given above, p. 37, n. 3.

[2] O.W.Scand. *Baggi* (O.Swed. *Bagge*), a personal name and nickname, identical with the appellative O.W.Scand. *baggi* 'a bay, pack, bundle'; Swed. *bagge* 'a ram'. On M.E. *bagge* see BJÖRKMAN, Loanwords, p. 228.

[3] From a disappeared local name **Bastun?*

[4] From O.W.Scand. *berr*, 'bare, naked', (O.Swed., Dan. *bar*, O.E. *bær*, M.E. *bar*); or perhaps rather O.E., M.E. *bere* 'barley', N.E. dial. *bear*, retained only in Scotl. Nhb. Yo. Li. Shrop. and Suff. Also O.W. Scand. *ber* 'berry' might possibly be taken into consideration.

[5] M.E. *bige* < O.W.Scand. *bygg* (O.E.Scand. *biug*) 'barley' = O.E. *bēow*. N.E. dial *bigg*, in use only in Scotland and Northern England, Norf. & Suff.

[6] From the O.W.Scand. collective *birki* 'a birch-wood'. The same name is found several times in ancient Norway, e. g. *Birkiþwœit* E.J. That being so, the M.E. (northern) word *birke* 'birch' need hardly be taken into account in the present case.

[7] From the O.W.Scand. female name *Birna* or the appellative *birna* 'a she-bear'.

[8] Of the same origin as Birthwaite in Yo.; or is 1st mem. from M.E. *byre* 'a cow-house'? N.E. dial. *byre*, occurring in Scotland and the north, also in Le.

Blakeritweyt Cumb. 1397, *Blaberthwayt* 1397 f., *Blakerytweyt* al. *Blabertweyt* 1404, *Blakeritwayt* 1407, *Blabertwait* 1412, *Blaberithwayt* 1437 Pat. R.; an enclosure in Inglewood, near Nunclose. According to the Editor of 1396-99 Pat. R. now Blackerthwaite.[1]

Blaykethwayt Cumb. 1349 Rot. Orig.; *Blaykthwayt* 1349 Cal. Inq. IV.; *Blakethwayt* 1349 Cal. Inq; *Blakthwait* 1369, 1417, *Blakethwait* 1406 f. Cal. Inq.; *Blaketwhayte* 1467 Pat. R.; now Blaithwaite.[2]

Blaikeswaith Yo. 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; near Nawton and Wellburn.[3]

Blytwayt Lanc. 14. cent (?) Furness Ch.; now Bleathwaite?[4]

Boctheyt Derb. 1244 C. Inq.; near Pinxton?[5]

Brakanthwayt Cumb. 1348 f., 1438 Cal. Inq.; now Brackenthwaite, near Wigton.[6]

Brakeintweit Cumb. 1223, *Brakenthweit* 1227, *Brackenthweit* 1228 P. Pipe R.; *Bracanthweyt* 1290, *Brakenthwait* 1374 Rot. Orig.; *Brakanthwait* 1337 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Brakanwayte* 1462 f. Pat. R.; now Brackenthwaite, near Cumrew.[6]

Brakinthweit Yo. 1202 Ped fin. Eb.; *Brakenthwayte* 1325 Cal. Inq.; *Brakanthwayt* 1476 Pat. R.; now Brackenthwaite, in Pannall.[6]

Brakinweyt Derb. 1272, *Brakenthweyt* 1329 C. Inq.; *Brakinthwayt* 1422, *Brakyntwhet* 1434 Cal. Inq.; *Brakentwayt* 1431 F.A.; now Brackenfield.[6]

Brakenthwayth, *Brakynweyth* Yo. c. 1300 Guisbrough Ch.; in Loftus.[6]

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[1] From O.W.Scand. *blá-ber* 'whortleberry' (Vaccinium Myrtillus), apparently the primitive of l. M.E. *blaberry*, N.E. dial. *blaeberry*, in use only in Cumb. Nhb. Lanc. Yo. Shrop. Remarkable is the recurrent spelling *Blakeri-* above, which would almost look like a corrupt form of M.E. *blakberie* 'blackberry, the fruit of the bramble', according to N.E.D. formerly also used, in some localities in the north, of the bilberry or blaeberry.

[2] O.W.Seand. *bleikr* 'pale, white', here perhaps indicating the colour of the soil. Cf. too, what is said on *Bleikestrete*, above p. 25.

[3] 1st mem. probably as in Blakeston, p. 25.

[4] 1st mem. is of doubtful origin. Perhaps from the M.E. man's name *Blih* < O.W.Scand. *Blígr*.

[5] O.W.Scand. *bók*, O.Swed. *bok*, O.Dan. *bogh* 'beech-tree'. The corresponding O.E. *bōc* is not found after the 12. cent., except in one or two compounds; see N.E.D.

[6] M.E. (northern) *braken* 'fern, bracken', perhaps Scandinavian loan, see N.E.D., and BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words. Cf. Swed. *bräken*, Dan. *bregne* and the O.Dan. place-name *Bregnætued* SRD. The same M.E.

Bracthuait Li. 1189 Vaudey ch., Mon. V; near Edenham.[1]

Bramthweit Cumb. 1233, *Branwhet* 1234 Cl. R.; *Bramthwayt* 1287 Rot. Orig.; *Braynthwayt* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Bramthwayte* 1432, *Brampthwayth* 1439 Cal. Inq.; *Brauncethwayte* 1471 Pat. R.; now Branthwaite.[2]

Brantesweit Norf. 1250 Cal. fin.[3]

Brerethuayte Cumb. 1485 C. Inq.; in Irthington.[4]

Bronthweyt Yo. 1389, *Brunthwayte* 1436 Cal. Inq.; now Brunthwaite (near Silsden) according to the Index of the County Courts Department, Branthwaite on PHILIPS' map.[5]

Braythwait Cumb. 1292 Cl. R.; *Braythweyt* 1303 Pat. R.; *Braythwayt* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1308 C. Inq., 1343 Cl. R., 1383 Pat. R.; *Braithwayt* 1338, *Brathwayt* 1344 Cl. R.; *Brathwaite* 1367 Cal. Inq.; now Braithwaite, near Portingscale.[6]

Braythweyt Cumb. 1315 C. Inq.; now Braithwaite, in Brigham par.

Braythawayt Cumb. 1317 Pat. R.; *Brathwayt* 1342 f. Pat. R., 1343 Cl. R.; *Braythwayt* 1344 Cl. R., 1394 &c. Pat. R.; [*Braythwaythowes* 1380 Pat. R.]; *Brathwaite* 1349 Cal. Inq.; now Braithwaite, in Inglewood forest.[6]

Braythueyt Yo. 1281 Yo. inq.; *Braithuayt* 1327 C. Inq.; *Braithwait* 1383 Pat. R.; *Braithwaite, Braitewaite* 1422 Cal. Inq.; now Braithwaite, near Kirk Bramwith.[6]

Braythewath Yo. 1312 Ch. R., 1337 Cl. R.; *Braythwayt* 1318 Pat. R., 1389 f. Cal. Inq.; *Braithwait, Brathweit* t. Edw. I. Plac.

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word enters into *Brakenesthweit* Lanc., now Brakenthwaite, which name is given by WYLD & HIRST, q.v.

[1] M.E. *brake* 'fern, bracken'; N.E. dial. *brake.* See N.E.D.

[2] Either from the O.Dan. man's name *Bramr* (WIMMER), or more likely M.E. *brame* 'a brier or bramble'. N.E. dial. *brame* 'the blackberry' (only Wm.), *brameberries* (only Li.); cf. Dan. *brambær*, Swed. dial. *brambär.*

[3] 1st mem. is probably genitive of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Brandr*, O.E.Scand. *Brand.* On the *-e-* of the ending cf. under Raysdale, above p. 75. The name enters into several M.E. place-names. A parallel can be the Norw. place-name *Brandstveit*, see RYGH, N.G. XI.

[4] M.E. *brere* (O.E. *brēr, brēr*), N.E. brier.

[5] From O.W.Scand. *brunnr* (O.Swed. *brunder*, O.Dan. *brynd*) 'a spring, well', or the adj. *brúnn*, = M.E. *brūn* 'brown'.

[6] O.W.Scand *breiðr* (O.Swed. *breþer*, Dan. *bred*) 'broad', cf. above p. 26 f. A place-name **Breiðaþveit* seems to have existed in several places in Norway; see RYGH, N.G. Compare also the Swed. *Bredetweth* (16th cent. form, see Sveriges Ortnamn: Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län XVI p. 27) and O.Dan. *Brethwed, Brethwed* SRD.

Warr.; *Braithwait* 1342 Cal. Inq. IV, 1475 Pat. R.; *Brathwayt* 1375 Cal. Inq., 1386 Pat. R.; now Braithwaite, near Kirkby Malzeard.[1]

Bratwait Yo. Rot. H.; *Braithewaithe*, *Brathwaith* Kirkby; *Braithewath*, *Brathwayth* 1299 Yo. inq.; *Braythweyt* 1317 Pat. R.; *Brathewheyt* 1327 C. Inq.; *Brathwayt* 1346 Pat. R.; *Braythwat* 1350 Cl. R.; now Braworth, near Seamer.[1]

Burthweith Yo. 1189, *Bourthayte* 1198 Fountains Mem. (in the copy of the latter charter printed in Dugdale's Mon. V: *Bourchwayt*); *Bourthwayt*, *Burethwayt* 1386 Pat. R; now Burthwaite or Bouthwaite (by Ramsgill, in Nidderdale).[2]

Burbladthwayt Yo. 1318 Pat. R.; near Coverham.[3]

Dowthwate Cumb. 1486 C. Inq.; now Dowthwaite, in Matterdale.[4]

Duthethwayt Yo. 1276 Yo. inq.; now Dowthwaite, near Kirkby Moorside.[5]

Dunthwayt Cumb. 1398 Cal. Inq.; near Brigham.[6]

Hailiuethait Lanc. 1154-75 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Hailinethait* 1160-80, *Alefthwayth* 1225-45, *Alyphtwait* c. 1272-78 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Alithwayt* 1241, *Alithweit* 1246 Lanc. Assize R.; *Alynthwayt* 1314 Ch. R.; *Alyutwait* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Alinthwayt* 1334 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Alemthwait* I.N.; *Alythwayt* 1277 Lanc. Assize R., 1400 Pat. R.; now Allithwaite.[7]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *breiðr* (O.Swed. *breþer*, Dan. *bred*) 'broad', cf. above p. 26 f. A place-name **Breiðaþveit* seems to have existed in several places in Norway; see RYGH, N.G. Compare also the Swed. *Bredetweth* (16th cent. form), see Sveriges Ortnamn: Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län XVI p. 27.

[2] Most likely from O.W.Scand. *búr* in the same sense as *úti-búr* 'an outlying storehouse'; O.Swed *bur*, Dan. *buur*. The O.E., M.E. *būr* meant a dwelling, habitation.

[3] Of obscure origin. Seems to contain M.E. *blad*, N.E. blade.

[4] Possibly from the late M.E. (northern) *dow*, *dowe* (O.E. *dāh*, O.W.Scand. *deig*), N.E. dough. In the present dial. of Kent the word is applied to a thick clay soil; it may have referred to some similar quality of the soil in the name under notice.

[5] Of uncertain origin. Possibly from the O.Swed. man's name *Dudh* (LUNDGREN).

[6] M.E. *dūne* (O.E. *dūn*), N.E. down 'hill'. Or perhaps from the O.E., M.E. adjective *dun* 'dun, of a dull or dingy brown colour', which word is not unknown in local names.

[7] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Eilifr* (O.E. Scand. *Elif*), often found in place-names, e. g. *Eilifs dals* (gen.) La. On various

Elvestueyth Yo. 1189 Selby Reg.. Mon. III. — Near Snaith?[1]

Elmethwayt Cumb. 1363 Rot. Orig.; in Inglewood forest.[2]

Elmesthweyt Lanc. uncertain date, see 1292 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; in Ellel.[2]

Ermitethait Cumb. c. 1230, *Hermithuait*, *Ermyngthait* c. 1250 Wetherhal Reg.; *Armthewayt* 1254 P. Pipe R.; *Ermicetwayth* 1277 Ch. R.; *Ermithwayt* Tax. eccl.; *Ermittwayth*, *Ermynthwayt* 1317 Pat. R.; *Ermythwaict* 1358, *Armythwayt* 1361, *Ermynthwayt* 1378 Test. Karl.; *Ermythuayt* 1394, *Ermetthwayt* 1396, [*Armethwaytbank* 1461], *Armythwayte* 1473 Pat. R.; now Armathwaite.[3]

Eskebriggethwoyt Yo. 1242 Guisbrough Ch.; near Danby.[4]

Estsweit Nott. t. Hen. III C. Inq.; *Estweyt* 1255, 1325 Pat. R., 1280 Cat.A.D., Rot. H., 1316 F.A., I.N.; *Estwayt* 1286 York Hist., 1325 Rot. Orig., 1428 F.A., 1499 Cat. A.D.; *Estwyt* 1483, *Estwhaite* 1495 Br.Mus.; now Eastwood.[5]

Falthuuait Yo. c. 1200 Pontefr. Ch.; *Falgthwayt* 1235, *Falthwayt* 1285, *Falghthweit* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Falthwayt* 1341 Cal. Inq.; now Falthwaite, near Stainborough.[6]

Fairthwayt Lanc. 1377, *Fairethwayt* 1402, *Fayretwhayte*, *Fayret Whayte* 1465 Pat. R.; in Thursland. Now Fairthwaite?[7].

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instances of the name, recorded in O.E. texts, see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[1] From the O.Dan. man's name *Elf*; cf. O.Swed. *Elf* given by LUNDGREN.

[2] O.Scand. *elmi* 'en elm-wood, ulmarium', a collective corresponding to O.W.Scand. *almr*, O.Swed. *almber* 'elm-tree'. Or perhaps from the native *elm*.

[3] From O.W.Scand. *ermiti* or M.E. *ermite* 'a hermit'.

[4] *Eskebrigge* = 'the bridge over the river Esk'.

[5] M.E. *ēst* (O.E. *ēast*) 'east'. Cf. above Austhwaite.

[6] Formally the 1st member answers to M.E. *falghe*, *falwe*, N.E. fallow: a piece of ploughed land, ground that is well ploughed and harrowed but left uncropped for a whole year or more. But it might as well be an earlier representative of the related adj., late M.E. *falowe* 'fallow, that is uncropped for the current year, uncultivated'. Both these words sometimes coincided in spelling with certain forms of M.E. *fale*, *falowe* (< O.E. *falu*, O.W.Scand. *fǫlr*) 'of a pale brownish or reddish yellow colour, as withered grass or leaves', which word, according to N.E.D., was used to denote the colour of exposed soil. Hence the three are difficult to discriminate when occurring in place-name compounds.

[7] From M.E. *fair*, *feir* (O.E. *fæger*), N.E. fair = O.W.Scand. *fagr*.

Finnesthwait Lanc. 1336, *Fynnestwait* 1400 Furness Ch.; now Finsthwaite.[1]

Folyfait Yo. Kirkby; *Folyfayt* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Folitwait* No. vill.; now Follithwaite, par of Wighill.[2]

Fformethweyt Lanc. 1256 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Formhuthwayt* (in the heading *Fornetwhait*) 13. cent. Furness Ch.; *Fornithwait* 1412 ibid.; near Urswick.[3]

Forsqwayt Wm. 1254 Lanc. Inq.; *Forsthwayt* 1435 f. Cal. Inq.; *Forsethwayt* 1441 f., *Forsethuayte* 1443, *Forsthwayte* 1461, *Frostwayt* 1472, *Frosthwayte* 1475 Pat. R.; identified in the Patent rolls of 1461 with the present Fusethwaite, in those of 1475 with Froswick.[4]

Forsedalthwayt Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; in Fossdale.[5]

Feusthauith Wm. 1210-46 (3×), *Pheswait* (2×) in other charters of the same date, Cockers. Ch.; in Mansergh.[6]

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[1] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Finnr* (La., etc.), O.E.Scand. *Fin.* Common in place-names.

[2] The whole name is of doubtful origin. Perhaps from O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *foli* 'foal, colt' (O.E. *fola*), later on confused by the scribes with M.E. *foli*, N.E. folly? Cf. this substantive in N.E.D. and E.D.D.

[3] Difficult to explain owing to the probably very corrupt spellings. Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *forn* 'old' (also used as a surname); cf. the compound *fornlendi* 'a piece of land which has been under cultivation for a long time', opp. *nýlendi* 'reclaimed land'. Or possibly from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Forni,* which enters into several O.Norw. place-names.

[4] O.W.Scand. *fors* (*foss*, cf. Fosham p. 60), O.Swed., e. Dan. *fors* 'a waterfall'. Fusethwaite seems to be situate close to the Trout Beck. Several Norw. place-names which go back to a ground-form **Forsþveit* are given in Rygh, N.G.; cf. also *Fosþwœit* E.J.

[5] From the M.E. name of the present Fossdale, a village on a tributary to the river Ure. 1st mem. as in preceding name. In the same charter we find a mention of a beck, called *Forsedalebeck,* apparently identical with the tributary just named.

[6] From O.W.Scand. *fé-hús* (O.Swed. *fähus,* O.Dan. *fœhus*) 'a cow-house'. The operation of native English sound-laws soon brought about the contraction into *fēs,* which development intimates that the sense of the true form and meaning of the word had been obscured. This latter spelling might, formally, also represent a contracted form of *féhús,* which had arisen on O.W.Scand. territory, viz. *fjós,* which word would regularly give a M.E. **fēs.* — O.E. *feoh-hüs* meant a treasure-house; in the sense of a cattle-shed the word is not recorded until the end of the 15th cent. (see N.E.D.).

Foulthwayt Yo. 1368 Rot. Orig. Near Riccall?[1]

Geghestueit, *Gegestueit* Norf. DoB.; *Geistweic* 1202, *Geistweyt* 1208 Cal. fin.; *Geistweit* 1243 (?) C. Inq., 1302 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1341 Cl. R.; *Geystweyt* 1253 f. Ch. R., Rot. H., 1302 f. F.A.; *Gestweyt*, *Geyweyt*, *Geystwyt* Rot. H.; *Gestweyt* Tax eccl., 1302 f. F.A.; *Geystwyte* Tax. eccl.; *Geystweyth* 1314 C. Inq., 1346 F.A.; *Geysthweyt* 1409 Pat. R.; now Guestwick.[2]

Giltweth, *Giltthwayt*, *Gilstauyt* Yo. t. Hen. III Br.Mus.; *Gilthwayt* 1323 ibid., 134[illegible] Yo. deeds; *Gildthwait* 1342 Br.Mus.; *Gylthewaite* 1409 Yo. deeds; now Guilthwaite, in Rotherton.[3]

Gobethayt Lanc. after 1268 Cockersand Ch.; near Billsborough.[4]

Goscopetheite Lanc. 1200-17, *Goscopetheit* 1207-20, *Goscopetuait* 1255-71, *Gospokwart* 1240-56 Cockersand Ch.; (now Goscopthwaite?) in Forton.[5]

Grathwat Lanc. 1220-50 Cockers. Ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[6]

Grathwayt Lanc. 13. cent. (?) Lanc. ch.; *Graythwat* 1336, *Graythwait* 1400 Furness Ch.; now Graythwaite.[7]

Gresthuait Wm. 1220-50, 1246-71 Cockers. Ch.; near Lindeth.[8]

Grisethwayth Yo. 1258 C. Inq.; *Grystwayt* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Grestweyt* al. *Grestwayth* 1314, *Gristhwait* 1319 C. Inq.; *Grisetwayt* No. vill.; *Grisethwayt* 1334 f., *Grystwayth* 1408 Pat. R.; now Gristhwaite, in Topcliffe.[9]

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[1] M.E. *foul* (O.E. *fugel*), or O.W.Scand. *fugl* 'fowl, bird'. Or perhaps from O.W.Scand. *fúll* = O.E. *fúl*, M.E. *foul* 'foul, rotten', etc. Cf. above Fairthwaite.

[2] 1st mem. is the name of the neighbouring village of Guist (written *et Gæysæte* 1038 Br.Mus., *Geyst* 1302 F.A.), a name of uncertain origin.

[3] As for 1st mem. see p. 19 n.

[4] 1st mem. is hard to explain. Hardly from M.E. *gobbe*, N.E. gob 'a mass or lump', which appears to be of French origin.

[5] From an unrecorded M.E. **gōs-cōpe* (or *-coupe*) 'a pen or enclosure for geese'. Compare the following lines from the 15th cent. poem of the False Fox: *The fals fox camme unto oure cowpe, And there he made our gese to stowpe.* (Quoted from N.E.D.) On the problems involved in the history of N.E. coop, see this word in N.E.D.

[6] O.W.Scand. *grár* (O.Swed. *grar*, Dan. *graa*) 'gray'. Cf. next name.

[7] 1st mem. as in prec. name, or from M.E. *grai* (O.E. *grǣg*) 'gray'.

[8] M.E. *gres*, *gras* 'grass'. O.E. *græs*, *gærs*, O.W.Scand. *gras*.

[9] O.W.Scand. *gríss* 'a pig, esp. a young one', O.E.Scand. *gris*. The man's name *Gríss* occurs as early as La.; O.Dan. *Gris*.

Gunultwayt Yo. 12. cent. (?) Pontefract ch., Mon. V; *Gunyldthwayt* 1284 Wakefield Court R.; *Gonnildthweyt* 1334 Br.Mus.; *Gunnyldthwayt* 1347 Cat.A.D; *Gunhullewayth* 1378 Poll-tax; *Gunthwayt* 1442 Cal. Inq.; now Gunthwaite.[1]

Hamesthueit Yo. 1225, 1310 Pat. R., 1230 Gray's Reg.; *Hamestveit* 1227 Pat. R.; *Hamesthuayt* 1280 Wickwane's Reg.; *Hamsthueit, Hanstwayt* 1280 Ch. R.; *Hamthweit* Tax. eccl.; *Hamestwait* 1318 N. Reg.; *Heyntwayth, Hamsthwayt* 1319 Cl. R.; *Hamsthwait, Hampstwayt* 1339 Pat. R.; *Hamthwayt* 1391 Br.Mus.; now Hampsthwaite.[2]

Hageneteit Yo. 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Hauntthweyt* 1269 Ch. R.; *Haghentwayt* 1329 C. Inq.; *Hangthwayt* 1330 Cl. R.; now Hangthwaite, near Adwick le Street.[3]

Heittheuuot Lanc. 1273 Pat. R., Dep. Keeper's Rep. 43; now Heathwaite.[4]

Haithwait Cumb. c. 1200 Wetherhal Reg.; *Haythwayt, Haytuuayt* 1252 Ch. R.; near Dalston.[4]

Haverthweit Yo. 1201 Ped. fin. Eb. (cf. ibid. p. 11 n.); near Dale Town.[5]

Haverthwait Lanc. 1336, 1400 Furness Ch.; now Haverthwaite.[5]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *Gunnhildr, Gunnilda,* O.Swed. *Gunnilder, Gunild,* O.Dan. *Gunild.* The name seems to have been very common nearly all over Scand. England. A noteworthy instance is *Gunnilda filia Thorphini* 1343 Ripon Mem.

[2] From an O.W.Scand. man's name *Hamr,* originally a surname like the related *Hamall* and signifying 'a ram'; O.Dan. *ham* 'ram'. See F. Detter in ZfdA., NF. 24, p. 15 f. With regard to the meaning, cf. the O.W.Scand. *hrútr* 'ram', and the man's name *Hrútr.*

[3] Probably from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hǫgni,* or the O.Dan. *Haghni,* O.Swed. *Hagne.* An exact parallel is the O.Norw. place-name *Hoghnaþuœit* BK.

[4] O.W.Scand. *hey* (O.Swed. *hö,* Dan. *hø*), or M.E. *hei* (O.E. *hēȝ*).

[5] Most probably from O.W.Scand. *hafri* (O.Swed. *hafre,* Dan. *havre*) 'oats', borrowed in M.E. as *haver, havyr;* N.E. dial. *haver* only in northern England and in Li. As for the signification of this name, cf. the compounds *Biggethwayt,* (*Bertwait*), *Corntheit,* and *Rugthwait.* An exact parallel is the O.Norw. place-name *Hafraþuœit* BK.; cf. N.G. XI. – Less probably from O.W.Scand. *hafr* = O.E. *hæfer* 'a he-goat, buck', or the personal names *Hafr, Hávarr.* H. C. Wyld (Mod. Lang. Rev. 5, p. 296) insists on deriving the Lanc. Haverthwaite from O.W.Scand. *Hávarðr,* which is altogether unfounded.

Helthwaith Yo. 1263 Yo. inq.; now Healthwaite Hill, near Weeton.[1]

Herberthwayt Yo. 1341 Cal. Inq.; near Bainbridge?[2]

Hernthornthwait Lanc. 15. cent. Furness Ch.; in Pennington.[3]

Hyndeletheyt Yo. 1269 C. Inq.; *Hyndelaythwayt* 1388 Cal. Inq., 1405 Pat. R.; now Hindlethwaite, in Coverham.[4]

Hothuait Lanc. 1240-67, *Howait* 1220-68 &c. Cockers. Ch.; *Hothweit* 1245, *Hothwayt* 1256 Lanc. Assize R.; now Howthwaite?[5]

Hothwayt Yo. 1356 Cl. R.; now Huthwaite, near Carlton in Cleveland.[5]

Hothewaites Yo. 1340 Pat. R., 'a waste', in Conisborough.[5]

Hotweit Cumb. 1212 Pipe R., V. H.; 1227 P. Pipe R.; *Hochthweit* 1226, *Hothweit* 1228 P. Pipe R.; *Hokwayt* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Hothuait* 1354 Cat. A.D.; *Huthwayt* 1398 Cal. Inq.; near Stainburn.[5]

Hathwait Cumb. date uncertain, Wetherhal Reg., Mon. III; not identifiable.[5]

Hothweit Nott. 1208 R. Oblat.; *Hothweyt* 1287 C. Inq., 1304 Cal. Inq.; *Hughtwayt* 1394 Pat. R.; *Hotwayt* 1432 Cal. Inq.; now [Hucknall under] Huthwaite.[5]

Hotwet Le. t. Hen. II. Priory of Laund ch., Mon. VI, 1.; near Rotherby.[5]

Hogtweit Yo. 1207 Ped. fin. Eb. Identical with Huthwaite near Carlton (see above)?[6]

Hogthait Yo. 12. cent., *Oggedwaith* 1160 (Papal confirm.), *Oghetwait*, *Oggethuaith*, *Oggethwaite*, *Hogarthweit* in charters of uncertain date, *Oghetwait* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; now Thwaites or Waites House, near Esklits.[6]

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[1] Of doubtful origin. Possibly from O.W.Scand. *hœll* 'a pole', or *hœli* 'a shelter, refuge', or *hella* 'a flat stone'.

[2] From M.E. *hereberȝe, herber* (O.W.Scand. *herbergi*) 'shelter, lodging; a place of shelter or sojourn, resting-place'. N.E. harbour.

[3] From a place-name **Hernthorn*, composed of M.E. *herne*, N.E. heron, hern, + *þorn* 'thorn'?

[4] From an earlier place-name **Hind-lēah* (O.E. *hind* 'the female of the hart'); cf. *Hindele* Lanc. 1212 Lanc. Inq., now Hindley.

[5] O.W.Scand. *hór, hár* (O.Swed. *ha-* in place-names) 'high'. Not a few place-names descending from a form **Hoþveit*, or **Haþveit* are to be found in Norway, as may be seen from E.J., and Rygh, N.G.

[6] O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'hill, mound'. Cf. in Norway *Haugsþueit* E.J., and some other similar instances, for which see Rygh, N.G.

Holtwayt Lanc. 1272-80, *Holthawyt* 1310-22 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Holthwait* 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI, 1; now Hoathwaite.[1]

Hundredestoit Yo. DoB.; *Hundrethwaite* Kirkby; *Hondrethwayte* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Hundresthweyt* 1302 Pat. R.; *Hundredthwaite* 1316 Cal. Inq.; *Hunderthwait* No. vill.; now Hunderthwaite.[2]

Hundolftweith Li. c. 1200 Selby Ch.[3]

Hustwait Yo. 1166-67 Pipe R., 1336 Rot. Orig.; *Hustwayth* 1231 Gray's Reg. (cf. ibid. p. 78 n.); *Husweit* 1285, *Hustthweyt* 1287 Cl. R.; *Hustwayt* 1254 Yo. inq., 1280 Wickwane's Reg., 1399 Pat. R.; *Husthwayt* 1283 Wickwane's Reg., Tax. eccl., 1393 f. Cal. Inq.; *Husethwayt* No vill.; *Husthweyt* 1327 Pat. R.; now Husthwaite.[4]

Ingulvestvet Yo. DoB.; *Ingoldethweyt* 1292 f. Pat. R.; *Ingoldethwayt* 1294 Rot. Orig., 1295 Pat. R.; *Ingaldtweyt* 1295, *Ingolftwayt* 1296 Yo. inq.; *Ingoltwayt*, *Ingelthwayt* 1328, *Ingoldthwayt* 1340, *Ingolthwait* 1378, *Ingolthwayt* 1411 Pat. R.; now Inglethwaite, in Galtres forest.[5]

Cathweyt North. 1338 Pat. R.; in Paston.[6]

Chatwait Yo. t. John Keldholm ch.; Mon. V; *Cathweyt* 13. cent. (?) Ellerton ch., Mon. VI,2; *Cathwayte* Kirkby; *Cathewait* 1327, *Cathwayt*

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[1] O.W.Scand. *hol* 'a hollow, cavity' = O.E. *hol*, or the adj. *holr* 'hollow', O.E. *hol*.

[2] Apparently from O.E., M.E. *hundred* 1) a hundred, the cardinal number' (O.W.Scand. *hundrað*) 2) a hundred as a subdivision of a shire. As to the question why the place was named thus, I have no satisfactory suggestion to make.

[3] From O.W.Scand. *Hundólfr*, O.Swed. **Hundulf*, pers. name (Lundgren).

[4] O.Scand., O.E. *hūs* 'house'; cf. Norw. *Hustveit* (Rygh, N.G. V), prop. 'a *þveit* with houses built on it'.

[5] From the man's name O.W.Scand. *Ingólfr*, O.Swed. *Ingulfer*, O.Dan. *Inguluw*; in the spellings of this place-name repeatedly confused with M.E. *Ingold* < O.W.Scand. *Ingvaldr*, O.Dan. *Ingvald*.

[6] Probably from O.W.Scand. **ká*, which may have existed on the evidence of Norw. dial. *kaa* 'jackdow', Corvus Monedula. Dan. *kaa*, MHG. *kâ*.—M.E. *ka*, N.E. dial. (only north. and Sc.) *kae*, is very likely of Scand. introduction, the O.E. word being *ceō*, M.E. *coo*, *keo*, *choghe*, N.E. chough.

1351, *Cathwaite* 1367 Cal. Inq. Near Kirkby Moorside. Now lost from the map? Cf. SKAIFE's edition of Kirkby's inquest, p. 141 n.[1]

Cadtheweit Yo. 1209 Ped. fin. Eb. — Near Beeston or Middleton.[2]

Calnethwayt, *Calthwayt* Cumb. 1347 Rot. Orig.; *Calnethwayt* 1380 Pat. R.; in Inglewood forest. Now Calthwaite?[3]

Caltwayt Yo. 1227 Bracton. Not identifiable.[4]

Capelthwait Wm. 1294 Ch. R., now Capplethwaite.[5]

Karlethwoyt Yo. 1242 Guisbrough Ch.; near Danby and Skelton.[6]

Kexthwayt Yo. 1281 Yo. inq.; now Kexwith, in New Forest.[7]

Kirkethuait Cumb. 1285 C. Inq.; *Kirkethwayt* 1348 Cl. R. *Kyrkthwayt* 1361 Cal. Inq., 1407 Pat. R.; now Kirkthwaite or Curthwaite.

Kirkethwait Cumb. 1314 Rot. Orig., 1315 Cl. R., 1367 Cal Inq.; *Kirkethwayt* 1314 Rot. Orig., 1386 Pat. R.; *Kirkethuayt* 1381

[1] 1st mem. is the same word as in preceding name.

[2] Perhaps from a native M.E. pers. name **Cad* (from the same base as O.E. *Cada*, which is found in some local names) or the (related?) O.Dan. and Icel. personal name *Kaða* (see WIMMER); cf. also the O.Swed. place-name *Kædhinge*, discussed by HELLQVIST, p. 83. Hardly from M.E. *cad* 'a pet lamb', N.E. cade, which is not recorded until the 15th century.

[3] O.W.Scand. *kalinn*, pa. part. of the verb *kala* (O.E. *calan*) 'to freeze', if that form could be used of 'a field barren from cold or frost', as is stated — without any references — in VIGF.

[4] From O.W.Scand. *kaldr* 'cold'; cf. the O.Norw. place-name **Kalda-þveit*, postulated by RYGH, N.G. VI, for the present *Kaltvet*. *Kaldr* may here have had the same application as *kalinn* in prec. name; noteworthy is, moreover, that M.E. *cald*, *cold* was employed of soil in the sense of 'slow to absorb heat, from its impervious clayey nature and retentiveness of moisture' (N.E.D.) — Or perhaps from O.W.Scand. *kál* 'cabbage'; M.E. *cāle*, cf. BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 106, and below Ch. 5.

[5] O.W.Scand. *kapall* 'a nag, hack', apparently borrowed from the Celtic languages: Irish, Gaelic *capall* 'mare'. M.E. *capel* 'horse'. Cf. further N.E.D. and BUGGE, Vesterlandenes indflydelse paa Nordboerne, p. 259. The word enters into the pers. name *Robert Kapelheved* (1351 Pat. R.), whose bearer seems to have come from Wm. or the adjoining part of Yo. — Or is *Capelthwait* from O.W.Scand. *kapella* = M.E. *chapele* 'chapel'?

[6] From O.W.Scand., O.Dan. *Karli*, O.Swed. *Karle*, pers. name.

[7] From O.W.Scand. *keikr* 'bent backwards', used as a surname; cf. Kexby, p. 66. Or it may be from M.E. *kex*, N.E. dial. *kecks* 'the dry hollow stalk of any umbelliferous plant, also such a plant itself.' Scand. loan, cf. e. Dan. *hundekex*, Norw. dial. *hundkjeks* &c. The etymology of this word has been cleared up by EKWALL, Shakspere's Vocabulary p. 84 f. Cf. the name *Yolthait*, p. 128.

Pat. R.; *Kyrkethuayte* 1485 C. Inq.; according to the records the name of a clóse, or parcel of land, in Inglewood forest. Is this place identical with Kirkthwaite (see preceding name), or some part thereof?[1]

Kirkethuait Yo. 1349 Cat.A.D.; near Sedbergh?[1]

Colingthweyt Nott. 1291 Ch. R.; now Collingthwaite, in Holbeck.[2]

Colpethawit Wm. 1220-35 f., *Colpouth[waite]* 1251 Cockersand Ch.; *Colperthwayt* 1292 ibid., t. Edw. I Plac. Warr.; *Colperwayte* 1461 Cockers. Ch.; now Cowperthwaite, in Firbank.[3]

Corntheit, *Cornthwait* Wm. 1190-1220 Cockers. Ch.; near Lupton.[4]

Cornthweyt *in Osegarthorpe* Le. 1367 Cat.A.D; in Osgathorpe.[4]

Crakethweit Li. e. 13. cent. Greenfield ch., Mon. V; *Craketheit* e. 13. cent. Br.Mus.; near Greenfield.[5]

Cringelthuayth Cumb. 1294, *Cringelthwayt* 1338 Cl. R.; in Egremont.[6]

Cringeltheit Yo. c. 1200 Whitby Ch.[6]

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[1] M.E. (northern) *kirke*, O.Scand. *kirkia*, 'church', cf. Kirkdale, p. 11.

[2] O.W.Scand. **Colingr*, a patronymic derivative of the man's name *Kolr*, O.E.Scand. *Kol*. Cf. the O.Swed. **Kolunger*, dealt with in Hellqvist, p. 72.

[3] 1st mem. is the same word as Irish *colpa* 'a full-grown beast of the horse or cow kind', also used as a standard of agricultural value, a cow's grass or pasture for a year, or its equivalent. N.E. collop, earlier colp, not recorded until the 17th cent.; see N.E.D.

[4] O.W.Scand. *korn* (O.E.Scand. *korn*) 1) corn, grain (= O.E. *corn*) 2) barley (= *bygg;* cf. Bigthwaite above); here probably in the latter sense. Cf. the O.Dan. place-name *Kornetued* SRD.

[5] Several words may be considered here, first of all O.W.Scand. *kráka* 'cornix' (O.Swed. *kraka*, Dan. *krage;* cf. also the O.Scand. female name *Kráka*); the same word enters into not a few O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Krakorud* E.J. As to M.E. *crake*, N.E. dial. *crake* 'a crow or raven' (only in north. dial.), probably Scand. loan, see Björkman, Loan-words. Further should be noted O.W.Scand. *kraki* 'a pale, stake' (O.Dan. *kraki*), properly a looped and branched stem, and the O.Scand. man's name *Kraki*.

[6] From the unrecorded O.W.Scand. **kringell* (Norw. dial., Swed. dial. *kringel*), or the synonym and collateral form O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *kringla*, O.Dan. *kringle* 'a circle, orb, disk'. Both these types are formed with *l*-suffix on the same base as O.W.Scand. *kringr* 'a circle, ring, bend'; cf. *krókr* 'crook, hook', and *krókell*. The word *kringel* occurs in some Swedish place-names (see Sveriges Ortnamn), *kringla* in several O.W.Scand. ones (see further Rygh, N.G. and Jakobsen, Shetlandsøernes Stednavne), e. g. *Kringlumýrr* 'a round circular fen' (Fritzner); compare in Scand. England the names *Krinkelker* Yo. 1212 Ped. fin. Eb.

Crokesthuueit Suff. uncertain year, Colchester Ch.[1]

Crostweit Cumb. 12. cent. Gray's Reg.; *Crossethueyt, Crostwayt* Tax. eccl.; *Crosthweyt* t. Edw. I Plac. Warr., 1424 Pat. R.; *Crosthwayt* 1358 Test. Karl.; *Crosthwait* 1396 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Crossethwayt* 1405 f. Pat. R.; now Crossthwaite.[2]

Crostweyk Wm. 1273 C. Inq.; *Crosthwayt* 1281 C. Inq., 1320, 1472 f. Pat. R.; *Crostthwayt* 1292 Cockers. Ch., 1320 Pat. R.; *Crosthwait* 1314 f. C. Inq.; *Crostquat* 1323 Lanc. Inq.; *Crossethwayt* 1357 Rot. Orig., 1391 f. Pat. R.; *Crossetwhaite* 1461, *Corsthuayat* 1467 Pat. R.; now Crossthwaite.[2]

Crostweit Yo. 1201 Ped. fin. Eb.; near Dale Town (par. of Hawnby).[2]

Crosthwaite Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem.; near Litton or Malham.[2]

Crosthwayte Yo. Kirkby; *Crosthayte in Tesdale* 1285 Cal. Rot. Ch.; now Crossthwaite, about three miles N.W. of Hunderthwaite.[2]

Crostueit, *Crotwit* Norf. DoB.; *Crostweyt* Rot. H., T.N., 1336 Carow ch., Mon. IV; *Crosthweyt* 1302 Ch. R., 1341 Cat. A.D.; *Crosweyth* 1316 F.A.; *Crostwyth* 1339, *Crostwhite* 1472 Pat. R., now Crostwick.[2]

Crostwit Norf. DoB.; *Crostweit* 1211 Cal. fin.; *Crostueit* 1212 Lanc. Inq.; *Crostweyth* 1346 F.A.; *Crostweyt* 1316 f., 1401 F.A., 1411 Pat. R.; *Crosthweyt* 1424 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; now Crostwight.[2]

Cruntethwayt Cumb. t. Edw. I Plac. Warr.; near Blennerhasset?[3]

(in Plumpton), *Cringelker* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch. (in Ormesby), *Cringilcroft* Yo. 13. cent. Cockers. Ch. (in Sedbergh), and *Kringelforda* Norf. DoB., etc., now Cringleford. Some additional details about these names will be given in Part II. The same word survives in N.E. dial. (chiefly north.) *cringle* 'a withe or rope for fastening a gate'.

[1] O.W.Scand. *Krókr*, O.Swed. *Krok*, O.Dan. *Krogh*, a pers. name which enters into several M.E. place-names.

[2] O.W.Scand. *kross* (O.Swed., Dan. *kors*) 'a cross'. Of frequent occurrence in O.Norw. place-names, where it designated a monument in the form of a cross set up in places of resort, at crossways, etc. for devotional purposes; in some cases it designated a crossroad or the cross-shaped form of a place or parcel of land, thus probably here (see Rygh, Indl. p. 62). Cf. in Norway *Krosseng, Krossgerði* E.J., etc.

[3] Hard to explain unless we take 1st mem. as a corrupt spelling for *Crune-*, from O.W.Scand. *krúna* or M.E. *crune*, N.E. crown, in the sense of the rounded summit of a mountain or other elevation.

Laxthwait Wm. 1316 Conishead ch., Mon. VI,1; near Haverbrack.[1]

Lamberttwayt Yo. 1329 Pat. R.; near Sproxton?[2]

Langetouet, *Langetouft* Yo. DoB.; *Langethwait* 1166-67 Pipe R., 1278 Cal. Inq.; *Langetueit*, *-tuit* 1175-76 Pipe R.; *Langwat* 1234 Cl. R.; *Langethwayt* 1282 Ch. R., No. vill.; *Langthwaytte* 1284 C. Inq.; *Langewath* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1309 Pat. R.; *Langthwayt* 1341 Cal. Inq.; *Langthawayte* 1461 Pat. R.; now Langthwaite, near Arkle Town.[3]

Langethauit Yo. 1279 Yo. inq.; *Langetwayt* 1309 C. Inq.; now Langthwaite, by Doncaster.[3]

Langethwayte *in Burghthwaytethurst* Lanc. 13. cent.(?) Lanc. ch.; now Langthwaite.[3]

Langewayt Cumb. e. 13. cent. Wetherhal Reg.; *Lonktwayt* 1253 C. Inq.; *Langqwhate* 1470, *Langthwaite* 1471 Pat. R.; *Langthwate* 1486 C. Inq.; now Longthwaite, near Matterdale.[3]

Hoton **Langthwayt** Cumb. 1338 Cl. R.; 'a waste plot', near Hutton.[3]

Langethweit *[et Stalethweit]* Cumb. t. Hen. II. Carlisle ch., Mon. VI,1; in Ireby.[3]

Lathwayt Lanc. 1320, *Laythwaitacre* 1340 Cockers. Ch.; now Lathwaite, near Winmarleigh.[4]

Legberthwait Cumb. 1302 Cal. Inq.; *Lekburnthuayte* 1486 C. Inq.; now Legberthwaite.[5]

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[1] O.Scand. *lax* 'salmon', also used as a surname. M.E. *lax*, O.E. *leax*.

[2] M.E. *Lambert*, pers. name, recorded by BARDSLEY from the 13. century onwards.

[3] O.W.Scand. *langr* 'long' (cf. p. 33 n. 10), M.E. *lang*. Exact parallels are O.Norw. *Langaþuœit* E.J., *Longaþœit* D.N. 1 (1374); cf. also the O.Dan. *Langtuedt* SRD. — On the modern map of Cumberland there are, at the least, three places called Longthwaite, which renders it extremely difficult to locate any M.E. forms of this name found within the said county. In the case of Longthwaite near Matterdale above, I am not certain that the forms of the Pat. R. and the Wetherhal Reg. are correctly identified.

[4] O.W.Scand. *hlað* 1) 'a pile, stack' = *hlaðr*, *hlaði* 2) a barn = *hlaða*. From the last word is the O.Norw. place-name *Laðuþuœit*, *Loðuþuœit* BK.

[5] 1st mem. is obviously a now lost place-name, the original form of which I am unable to trace. CAMDEN (1695) has *Legburgthwate*. R. FERGUSON's (The Northmen in Cumb. & Westm., p. 32) old derivation of this name from 'Old Norse *lögberg*, law-mount' is quite unsupported by any evidence.

Leikethaites Lanc. 1170-84 Cockers. Ch.; *Leiketht heit* al. *Leikestheit* 1199-1216 Lanc. Priv. deeds; now Leikethwaites, in Forton.[1]

Lyntwait Yo. 12. cent. (?) Pontefract ch., Mon. V; *Lintuait* t. Hen. II. Monk-Bretton Reg., Mon. V; *Linthwait* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Linttveit* 1155-60 (Inspex. 1230) Ch. R.; now Linthwaite, in Almondbury.[2]

Linthwayt Cumb. 1231 P. Pipe R.; *Lynthwayt* 1346, 1348 Cl. R.; *Lynethwayt* 1361 Cal. Inq.; in Inglewood.[2]

Lingthweyt Norf. Rot. H.; in N.Erpingham.[3]

Lingthwaite Yo. 1372 Cal. Inq.; in Pickering, near Hartoft.[3]

Lontwayt Cumb. 1254 P. Pipe R.; *Lounethweyt* 1316 C. Inq.; *Lounthwaite* 1367 Cal. Inq.; now Lownthwaite, in Wigton.[4]

Louthweit Cumb. 1229, *Lofthweit* 1244 P. Pipe R.; *Loutwayt* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Loftthwayt, Loftethayt* 1398 Cal. Inq.; now Lothwaite.[5]

Midelthwayt Lanc. 1412, *Midlethwait* uncertain date, Furness Ch.; in Pennington.[6]

Middelthweyt Li. 1287 C. Inq.; near Counthorpe.[6]

Michelethweit Cumb. t. John A. Plac.; *Mikilthuayte* 1485 C. Inq.; now Micklethwaite, near Parton.[7]

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[1] 1st mem. is either the O.W.Scand. man's name *Leikr* (cf. Laysthorpe, p. 71), or the appellative *leikr* (O.Swed. *lēker*, e. Dan. *legh*) 'game, sport, play'. The word enters into some O.Norw. place-names meant to designate a play-ground, or place intended for athletics of various kinds; cf. *Leikvangr*, *Leikvǫllr* in Fritzner; see also Rygh, Indl. p. 64.

[2] O.Scand. *lín* = O.E. *līn* 'flax'. N.E. dial. *lin*, known chiefly from north. counties. — Cf. the Norw. place-name *Lintveit*, Rygh, N.G. V.

[3] O.W.Scand. *lyng* (O.E.Scand. *liung*), borrowed in M.E. as *ling;* N.E. dial. *ling* 'heather'.

[4] Most likely from O.W.Scand. *logn* sb. 'calm weather' (Norw. dial. *logn*, O.Swed. *lughn*, e.Dan. *lugn*), which is presumed to survive in N.E. dial. (chiefly north.) *lown*, sb. & adj. 'calm, quiet, sheltered, stillness, shelter, a sheltered place'; also in the compounds *lown-hill* 'the sheltered side of a hill', *lown-side* 'the sheltered side of anything' (Cumb., etc. see E.D.D.). The meaning of the last two formations seems to approach that of the name before us.

[5] O.W.Scand. *lauf* (O.Swed. *löf*, Dan. *løv*) 'leaf, foliage' = O.E. *lēaf*. Cf. the compound *laufhaugr* 'a hill covered with trees from which leaves may be gathered'.

[6] M.E. *middel* (O.E. *midla*) 'middle'.

[7] O.W.Scand. *mikill*, etc., or M.E. *mikel* 'large'. Cf. above p. 33, n. 11. The same name occurs several times in Norway, e. g. *Myklatweit* D.N. 12 (1463).

Muceltuoit Yo. DoB.; *Micheltweit* 1166-67 Pipe R.; *Micletwet* 1202, *Mikelthwait* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Mickeltwayt, Mikylewayt* 13. cent. Kirkstall Ch.; *Mikeltweyt* 1267 Baildon; *Migelthait* 1311 Pat. R.; *Mykelthwayte* 1339 Pat. R.; *Mikelthwayt* 1392 Br. Mus.; now Micklethwaite.[1]

Mykelthwait Li. t. Hen. III. Newstede Priory ch., Mon. VI, 1. Near Uffington.[1]

Mirthuait Lanc. 1250-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Whittington.[2]

Morethuait Cumb. 1407, *Moreqwate* 1470 Pat. R.; now Moorthwaite, near Cumwhitton.[3]

Morthwait Yo. 1235-55, *Morthuait* 1240-67 Cockers. Ch.; *Mortwayt* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Morthwayt* 1292 Cockers. Ch., t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; now Marthwaite, near Sedbergh.[3]

Mousethwayt Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; in Wensley Dale.[4]

Musethawit Lanc. 1190-1217, *Musethuait* 1250-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Forton.[4]

Nathwait, *Nacuait* Cumb. 12. cent. (?) Holm Cultram Reg., Mon. V. Not identifiable.[5]

Nettelthwaythe Yo. 1292 Guisbrough Ch.; near Marske.[6]

Normantwait, *-wait* Lanc. 1246 Lanc. Assize R.; near Preston?[7]

Northwayt Lanc. 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI, 1; not identifiable.[8]

Ornethweyt Yo. 13. cent. Cat. A.D.; now Ornthwaite, in Thurlstone.[9]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *mikill*, etc., or M.E. *mikel* 'large'. Cf. above p. 33, n. 11. The same name occurs several times in Norway, e. g. *Myklatweit* D.N. 12 (1463).

[2] M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* 'moor, bog, swampy ground'. See further in Ch. 6. Identical in form is the e. Norw. place-name *Mirtwet,* N.G. XI.

[3] From O.E., M.E. *mōr* 'a moor, heath, waste land'. Cf. above p. 87 n. 1.

[4] O.Scand. *mús,* or O.E., M.E. *mūs* 'mouse'.

[5] Probably from O.W.Scand. *ná-* (O.E. *nēh, neāh*), only occurring in compounds, and denoting 'nigh, near'. If this etymology be right, **Ná-þveit* would be a formation of the same kind as the recorded O.W.Scand. *ná-búð* 'a dwelling near to', *ná-býli* 'a neighbouring farm'.

[6] O.W.Scand. **netla* (Norw. dial. *netla*), O.Swed. *nätla,* O.Dan. *nætlæ,* or M.E. *nettle* 'nettle', urtica.

[7] M.E. *Norman,* pers. name. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen, p. 98.

[8] O.W.Scand. *norð-* (in compounds), O.Swed. *nordh* etc., or M.E. *norð* 'north'. Cf. in Norway *Nordtveit,* see N.G. XI.

[9] From O.Swed., e. Dan. *orne* 'a boar'.

Oxenethweyt Lanc.(?) 1241 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Oxenthwaite ?[1]

Pilethait Yo. 12. cent. Newburgh ch., Mon. VI, 1; near Bagby.[2]

[Crosseby] **Ravensthwaite** Wm. 1372 Cal. Inq.; now Crosby Ravensworth.[3]

Rathuait Li. 1189 Vaudey ch., Mon. V; near Edenham.[4]

Raithwait Yo. 1351 Whitby Ch.; *Rathwayte* c. 1540 ibid.; now Rathwaite, near Whitby.[5]

Rathornthuait Lanc. 1250-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Whittington.[6]

Raynestwayt Lanc. 1327-44 Lanc. Priv. deeds; near Ulverston.[7]

Rethtwhayt, *Rethtwayt* Cumb. 1399 Pat. R.; now Reathwaite, in Westward.[8]

Rigthwaite Lanc. 1421 Lanc. inq. Not identifiable.[9]

Risseltweyt Yo. 1249 Ch. R.; near Nun Appleton.[10]

Rodmerethweyt Nott. 1281 Rot. Orig.; *Rodmanthuayt* 1359 Cat.A.D.; *Rodmerthwayt* 1432 Cal. Inq.; now Radmanthwaite, in Mansfield.[11]

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[1] M.E. *oxne* < O.E. *oxna,* gen. plur. of *oxa* 'ox', corresponding to O.W.Scand. *uxna, *oxna,* nom. sing. *oxi.* Cf. NOREEN, Altisl. Gr. § 391, 2.

[2] Probably from O.W.Scand. *píll* 'willow', Salix fragilis; O.Swed. *pil.* The word enters into some O.Norw. place-names, for which see FRITZNER.

[3] O.W.Scand. *Hrafn* (O.Swed. *Rafn,* O.Dan. *Rawn*), pers. name. Cf. BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen, p. 109.

[4] From O.W.Scand. *rá* 'a landmark', O.Swed. *ra* 'landmark, boundary line', e. Dan. *raa* 'a pole used as a landmark'. Less probably from O.Scand. *rá* 'roe' = O.E. *rā.* Identical in form with the O.Dan. place-name *Rathwet* LCD. See further under Raby in Ch. 5.

[5] Etymol. perhaps as in preceding name.

[6] 1st mem. looks like a place-name compound **Rathorn,* now lost, the former element of which may be as in preceding name.

[7] From O.W.Scand. *Hreinn,* pers. name (see further above p. 84), or O.W.Scand. *røynir* 'rowan-tree', *røyni* 'a clump of rowan-trees'. Cf. also below under Rainford, p. 133.

[8] Of doubtful origin. Possibly from O.W.Scand. *hreði* 'a bull', according to VIGF. used only poetically and in some local names.

[9] As for the 1st member see above, p. 53 n. 4.

[10] Probably from O.W.Scand. *hrísla* 'bush'; Norw. dial. *risla* 1) bush 2) a cut off branch of a tree. In sense 2) the word occurs also in Swed. dialects.

[11] From O.W.Scand. *Hróðmarr* (O.Dan. **Rothmar,* in place-names), pers. name, in progress of time perhaps exchanged for M.E. *radman* (in DoB.) 'a tenant holding land on condition of performing service on horseback' = O.E. *rādcniht;* see N.E.D. The writing *Rod-* — instead of the ex-

Rosthwayt Lanc. 14. cent. Furness Ch.; *[Rosthwait-bank* ibid.]; *Rossethwayte* 1535 Lanc. rec.; now Rosthwaite.[1]

Rounthwayt Wm. 1277 Cumb. ch., 1338 Pat. R.; *Rounerthwayt* 1294, 1328 Cl. R.; *Rounesthwait* 1310 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Ronnestwate, Rennestwathe* 1310 Whitby Ch.; *Ronnerthwayt* 1323 Rot. Orig.; *Rounerthewayt, Roinerthewayt* 1327, *Runerthwayt* 1329 Pat. R.; *Rownorthwayt* 1337 Cal. Inq.; *Rounnerthweyt* 1345 Cl. R. *Rownthwayt* 1458 Cal. Inq.; *Rounthuayte* 1485 C. Inq.; now Roundthwaite.[2]

Rothewelletwayt Yo. Rot.H.; in Rothwell.[3]

Rugthwait Cumb. 1251 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Rugthwayt* 1255 P. Pipe R.; *Rughthwaite* date uncertain, Wetherhal Reg., Mon. III; *Ruththuuayt* 1308 C. Inq.; *Rugthwayt* 1304, 1398, *Rugthwayte* 1456 Cal. Inq.; now Ruthwaite, in Ireby.[4]

Ruhwaith, *Ruhwahit, Ruthwait* Lanc. 1190-1212 Cockers. Ch.; *Ructhwait* 1212 Lanc. Inq.; *Rugthwayt* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Roghthwhayt* 1451, *Roghwhayte* 1461 Cockers. Ch.; in Melling, near Liverpool (not in Whittington, as is stated by the Editor of Cockersand Ch.).[4]

Ruletwhait Wm. 1268 Whitby Ch.; in Crosby Ravensworth.[5]

Saterthwait Lanc. 1336, *Satirthwait* 1400 Furness Ch.; now Satterthwaite.[6]

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pected **Rad-* — in the name under notice is remarkable, and points to close association with the simplex, M.E. *rōde* (*rāde;* O.E. *rād*) 'riding on horseback', since otherwise the *ā* would have been shortened to *ă* before the consonants.

[1] From O.W.Scand. *hross* (O.E.Scand. and O.E. *hors*) 'a horse'.

[2] Of somewhat dubious origin. May be from O.W.Scand. *raun* 'mountain ash', which word is only recorded in place-names, see Rygh, Indl. p. 70. Norw. dial. *raun;* cf. N.E. dial. *rowan* (only north.) and *rowantree,* apparently Scand. loan. If this derivation of the 1st mem. is right, the spellings with internal *-er-* above must represent the genitive sing., normally **raunar.*

[3] From the place-name *Rothewell,* for which see below p. 160.

[4] From O.W.Scand. *rugr* 'rye'; cf. further under Rogerthorpe, p. 15. Parallels in Scandinavia are the Norw. place-name *Rugtveit* (N.G. XI), and the O.Swed. *Rogthwet* (see Sveriges Ortnamn, Älvsborgs län XVI, 112); cf. O.Dan. *Rughthwetorœ* LCD.

[5] Of uncertain origin. An O.Dan. pers. name *Ruli* is quoted by Nielsen from the inscription on the Runic stone of Lavrbjærg, but the recent accurate reading of Wimmer (De Danske Runemindesmærker) makes the existence of such a name very questionable.

[6] Possibly from O.W.Scand. *sætr* 'a mountain pasture'; the *a*-vowel of the M.E. forms might be due to shortening before the consonants,

Setwait Yo. e. 12th cent. Whitby Ch. (cf. ibid. p. 118 n.); near Whitby.[1]

Saningthuet Yo. t. Hen. II, *Saningwhete, Synningthuait, Sinningthwaith* 12. cent., Sinningthwaite ch., Mon. V; *Senithweit* 1223, *Senitweyt* 1225, *Syningthueyt* 1276 Pat. R.; *Synigthwet* 1253 Gray's Reg.; *Siningthavit* 1272 Giffard's Reg.; *Synigthayt* 1279 Wickwane's Reg.; *Synyngethwayt* 1284 Baildon; *Sinig-, Synyngthweyt* 1286 Ripon Mem.; *Synithwayt* 1302 Yo. inq.; *Siningthuayt* 1310 Ch. R.; *Sannyngtwhait* 1465 Pat. R.; now Sinningthwaite.[2]

Scaththwait Lanc. 1240 Furness Reg., Mon. V; *Scafthauith* 1248 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Scafthwait* 1246 f., *Scafthwayt* 1275, *Skathwait* 13. cent., 1336, 1412, *Scathwait* 14. cent., 1412 Furness Ch.; now Scaithwaite (on PHILIPS' map) or Scathwaite (Index of the County Courts).[3]

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in which case the Scand. *æ* shared the development of the corresponding native sound in the same position. Cf. KLUGE in Paul's Gr., p. 1035. However, the word *sætr* is rarely found in Scand. place-names of such ancient date, and appears as a rule only as 2nd member in compounds (RYGH, Indl. p. 74). Another derivation of the name may therefore be suggested. Perhaps we have here O.W.Scand. *sátr* n., explained by FRITZNER as 'a place where one has or can have something standing'. Now the present village of Satterthwaite stands on the Grizedale Beck, just mid-way between the lakes Coniston Water and Windermere, at about two miles' distance from each. From this fact it may be conjectured that *sátr* occurs here in the same sense as the compound *upp-sátr* 'the act of beaching a ship'; it probably denoted also the place where the ship was beached. Both these meanings belonged to the collateral form *upp-sát* fem. & n., and to *skip-sát* n.; see HERTZBERG's Glossary. to the ancient laws of Norway. VIGF. gives, too, from the O.Norw Gulaþings-law, the compound *skips-sátr* n., which, however, I am unable to find in the edition quoted. — On the other hand it should be noted that the genitive of the fem. *upp-sát* enters into the compound *uppsátartupt* 'the place where a ship is beached'. A genitive form **sátar,* from *sát,* might also be suggested as constituting the 1st member of the name before us. Cf. Norw. dial. *saat* 'a fishing-place on the shore'.

[1] Apparently from O.W.Scand. *sjár, sær* (M.E. *sæ*) 'lake, sea'. An exact parallel is the O.Norw. *Sæþuœit* BK.

[2] The existence of two different types of the 1st member, *Saning-, Sining-,* renders any attempt at a derivation mere guesswork. Does the latter form represent an O.Scand. patronymic **Syningr?* Cf. the O.Swed. man's name *Sune,* and the place-name *Synninge,* HELLQVIST p. 149.

[3] Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *skaf* 'a scraping, peeling, esp. of peeled bark used in Norway as fodder for goats and cattle'.

Schalqratrig Wm. 1273 C. Inq.; *Skathwaytrigg* 1297 Pat. R.; *Scalethwaytrig* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Scalthaytrig* 1309 C. Inq.; *Scalthwayterig* 1475 Pat. R.; now Scalthwaiterigg.[1]

Scalethwait Cumb. 1222 P. Pipe R.; not identifiable.[1]

Scarthwayt Cumb. 1346, [*Scarthwaitrig* 1348] Cl. R. Where?[2]

Scrapthuait Li. 1189 Vaudey ch., Mon. V; near Edenham.[3]

Slathweyt Yo. 1235 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Slaitwait* 1297 Yo. Subs.; *Slaghthayt* 1307 Wakefield Court R.; *Slaghewhait* No. vill.; *Slaxthwayt* 1378 Poll-tax; *Slaghthewayte* 1402 Pat. R.; now Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield.[4]

Slathewaitheuid Lanc. 1185-1200, *Slathehouet* 1207-20, *Slathwaitheuid* 1250-56, *Sletwaitheued* 1250-68, *Slatwaitheuit* 1246-68, *Slathuaytehed* 1468 Cockers. Ch.; in Forton.[5]

Smatuaites Wm. 1190-1220 Cockers. Ch.; *Smathwayt* 1345 Cl. R.; now Smathwaites, in Selside.[6]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *skáli* 'hut, shed'; cf. above p. 52 n. 2. The same word enters into the O.Norw. parallel *Skalaþuœit* BK. On *-rig* cf. p. 53 n. 4.

[2] Probably from O.W.Scand. *skarð* (see above p. 38 n. 1); or from O.Norw. *skǫr* f. 'a ledge in a cliff or mountain-side'. The latter word is frequently met with in Norw. place-names, see RYGH, Indl. Hardly from O.Dan. *Skar,* pers. name.

[3] 1st mem. is most likely the same word as O.W.Scand. *skrap* 'scraps, scrapings, worthless things'; O.Swed. *skrap* 'scraping, scratching', allied to the verb O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *skrapa* (Dan. *skrabe*), from which M.E. *scrapen* 'to scrape, scratch'. In the place-name before us *skrap* seems to have referred to the quality of the soil, which may have been arid and barren. N.E. dial. *scrap,* with several meanings, probably goes back to the same word; it is used in the Lakeland district of hard, lumpy ground, land caked with drought (E.D.D.). Some O.Norw. place-names containing *skrap* in a similar sense are mentioned by RYGH; see, e. g. *Skraperud,* N.G. V. Compare, moreover, Norw. dial. *skrapmark* 'land thinly covered with grass', *skrapteig* 'a piece of land of this nature'; also the M.E. place-name *Scrapetoft,* in Ch. 7.

[4] Derived by TAYLOR, Names & their Histories, from O.E. *slæd* 'a valley', which etymology is disproved by the M.E. spellings. 1st mem. seems to represent O.W.Scand. *slag* n. 'a blow, battle', here perhaps in the hypothetical sense of mowing, or a field that is mown, a hay-field. Cf. O.W.Scand. *slá* 'to strike, mow, cut grass'; *slátta* 'mowing, a hay-field'. *Slag* occurs in some O.Norw. place-names, where RYGH assigns the same meaning to it, e. g. *i Sloxuollom* (for *Slax-*) D.N. 5 (1414); see further N.G. III, p. 130, IV 2, p. 78. Cf. also the somewhat different derivation lately proposed by MOORMAN.

[5] From M.E. *slā* (O.E. *slāhe*) 'sloe' (Prunus spinosa). Hardly O.W.-Scand. *slá* 'a bar'. On the last element of the name compare p. 37 n. 3.

[6] O.W.Scand. *smár* (O.Swed. *smar,* O.Dan. *sma*) 'small'; frequent in compounds such as *smájǫrð* 'a small parcel of land', *smábœr* 'a small farm', etc. Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *J Smadalum* E.J.

Smatwayt, *Smetwayt* Cumb. 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; now Smeathwaite or Smaithwaite.[1]

Smerthwayt Yo. 1323 Calv. ch.; in Guiseley.[2]

Sourthwayt Wm., see in Ch. 4.

Stalethweit Cumb. t. Hen. II. Priory of Carlisle ch., Mon. VI, 1; in Ireby.[3]

Stanethwayte Wm. 1309 Cal. Inq.; near Little Strickland.[4]

Staynthwayt Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem.; in or near Langstrothdale?[5]

Steinþweit Li. t. Hen. II. Sempr. ch.; *Steinthweit* l. 12. cent. ibid., t. Rich. I. — John Br. Mus.; *Steinswait* 1232 Li. rec.; *Steynweye* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *Steynehweit* 1316 F.A.; *Steynthwayt* 1267, 1389, 1436 Cal. Inq.; *Steynweyth* 1343 Cl. R.; *Staynthwayt* 1338 f. Pat. R.; *Steynethwaite* 1346 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Steynethweyt* 1368 Cat. A.D.; *Staynwayt* 1394, *Steynthwayt* 1436 Cal. Inq.; now Stainfield, in Hacconby.[5]

Stirkthwayt Yo. 1281 Yo. inq.; *Sterthwaytte* 1284 C. Inq.; *Stirthwait* 1341 Cal. Inq.; now Storthwaite, on Arkle Beck.[6]

Stokesweit Lanc. 1228 Cl. R.; *Stokesweyt* 1340 Pat. R.; in Quernmore.[7]

Storthwayt Yo. Rot. H., 1343 Cl.R.; *Stortheweyt* 1282 Baildon; *Storyweyt* 1284 C. Inq.; *Storwayt* T.N.; *Storthweyt* 1298, 1318 Pat. R.; *Storwhait* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Scottwhait* No. vill.; *Storthaytes* 1343, *Storthwayt* 1363, 1421, *Storthewayte*, *Stortwayt* 1424 Cal. Inq.; *Storwhatt*, *Storthwaite* 1461, *Storthwaytte* 1463,

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[1] O.W.Scand. *smár* (O.Swed. *smar*, O.Dan. *sma*) 'small'; frequent in compounds such as *smájǫrð* 'a small parcel of land', *smábœr* 'a small farm', etc. Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *J Smadalum* E.J.

[2] From O.W.Scand. *smjǫr*, *smœr* (O.Swed. *smiör*, O.Dan. *smør*) 'grease, butter', which word occurs in O.Norw. place-names in various applications. In some it refers to the good quality of the soil, as e. g. in *J Smørdale* E.J.; thus in the present case. Cf. Rygh, N.G. I p. 83, II p. 70. I have not found the M.E. equivalent *smere* (O.E. *smeoru*) 'ointment' in any similar names.

[3] From O.W.Scand. *Stáli*, pers. name?

[4] O.E., ME *stān* 'stone'. Cf. the next two names.

[5] O.W.Scand. *steinn* 'stone'. Cf. the names containing this word as 1st member, p. 87 f. An exact parallel is most likely the O.Norw. *Stœiniþuœit* BK.; cf. Rygh, N.G. XI p. 223.

[6] From M.E. *stirk* (O.E. *stirc*, *styric*) 'bullock', or M.E. *stirke* 'heifer'.

[7] O.W.Scand. *stokkr* (O.Swed. *stokker*, O.Dan. *stok*), or ME. *stoc* (O.E. *stocc*) 'stock, trunk'.

Storthwayte 1465 Pat. R.; now Storthwaite Grange, near Thornton.[1]

Storthwaytrigg Cumb. 1366 Cal. Inq.; near Thursby.[1]

Strathwait Li. 1314 Rot. Orig.; near Scrivelsby?[2]

Swiningethwait, *Swiningtweit* Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Swynythwaite* Kirkby, No. vill.; now Swinethwaite.[3]

Ternesthwayt Cumb. 1398 Cat. Inq.; *Ternethuayte* 1485 C. Inq.; near Brampton or Glassonby?[4]

Tillethwayt Wm. 1374 Cal. Inq.; near Skelsmergh?[5]

Tildesburghthwait (other MS. *Tyldeborgethwaitte*) Lanc. 1196, *Tilburthwait* t. Hen. II. (apparently a late copy), 1409 Furness Ch.; *Tyburthwaite* 1346 Cal. Inq.; *Tilberthwayt* 1416 Lanc. inq.; now Tilberthwaite.[6]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *stórr* (O.E.Scand. *stor*) 'great, large'; in compounds as *stórbœr, stórþorp* 'large farm'. The adj. is very rare in O.W.Scand. place-names. Cf. the O.Norw. *Storeimi* D.N. 11 (1345), N.G. IV 2. On O.Dan. *stor* in place-names see STEENSTRUP, Indledende Studier p. 12 f. O.E., M.E. *stōr,* probably Scand. loan. — On the last element of *Storthwaytrigg* see p. 53 n. 4.

[2] O.Scand. *strá* 'straw' = O.E. *strēaw, strēow;* M.E. *strē, strā.* The last form is Scand. loan, see BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 103.

[3] 1st mem. may be the same word as the O.E.Scand. patronymic **Svininger* that is given by HELLQVIST on the evidence of place-names, O.Dan. *Swininge,* and O.Swed. *Swiningæ.* — Or does the M.E. *Swiningethwait* contain a disappeared place-name **Swin-ing,* from M.E. *swīn* or O.Scand. *svín* 'swine', and O.E. *ing* 'meadow'?

[4] M.E. *terne* < O.W.Scand. *tiǫrn* (gen. *tiarnar*) 'tarn, small lake'. See further above p. 67 n. — Cf. the O.Norw. place-name **Tjarnarþveit* postulated by RYGH, N.G. V, on the evidence of the present *Kjøntveit.*

[5] In the Northumbrian Liber Vitæ there is a pers. name *Tilli, Tili* (see SEARLE, and R. MÜLLER in Palæstra IX, p. 69), which might form the 1st member. An O.Scand. equivalent of this name also existed, as far as that may be gathered from the late O.Swed. *Tile* (LUNDGREN) and the place-names *Tillinghetorp* and *Tillungxaas* (HELLQVIST, p. 160). — Or perhaps the 1st mem. was originally some word connected with the verb O.E. *tilian,* M.E. *tilien* 'to till': M.E. *tile* 'cultivation, produce, goods', *tilie* (O.E. *tilia*) 'a cultivator of land, husbandman'.

[6] 1st mem. is the place-name *Tillesburc* which appears in a confirmation of Henry II. (Furness Ch.), but must have disappeared at an early period. This name must be of native origin; it probably contains the O.E. pers. name *Tilli, Tili* (cf. preceding name), being then an exact counterpart of the present Tilbury in Essex, which is written *Tiliberia* DoB., *Tillebiri* 1249 Ch. R., *Tillebyri* 1263 C. Inq., etc. The spelling *Tilde-* in the *þveit*-name under notice is presumably due to miswriting. — Cf. WYLD & HIRST's unsucessful attempt at explaining this name.

Thactwyt Cumb. 1285 C. Inq.; *Thakthwayt* 1339, 1361, *Thakthwait* 1359, 1375 Cal. Inq.; now Thackthwaite, near Dacre.[1]

Thackthwayt Cumb. 1304, *Thakthweyt* 1306 Cal. Inq.; *Thackthuuayt* 1308 C. Inq.; *Thakthwait* 1367 Cal. Inq.; now Thackthwaite, near Loweswater.[1]

Thacthwet Yo. 1203 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Preston-under-Scar.[1]

Theuethwaitheued Yo. 1235—55 Cockers. Ch., *Theuetweitwra* ibid.; near Sedbergh.[2]

Thornthwayt Cumb. 1253 C. Inq.; *Thurnethwayt* 1308, *Thornthwaite* 1367 Cal. Inq.; *Thornthweyt in Derwentfelles* 1405 Pat R.; now Thornthwaite.[3]

Thornthwait Wm. 1329 C. Inq.; now Thornthwaite, in Bampton.[3]

Tornthueit Yo. 1230 Gray's Reg.; near Hampsthwaite.[3]

Thornebuthwait Lanc. 1202, *Thornubythuieitht* 1208 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Neubethayt* 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Neburthwaite* 1336, 1400 Furness Ch.; *Nybthwayt Towne* 1536 Lanc. rec.; now Nibthwaite.[4]

Thystelweit Cumb. 1241 P. Pipe R.; *Thistelthwayt* 1254 ibid., 1340 Pat. R.; *Thistelthueyt* 1285 C. Inq.; *Thistelthwait* 1380 Cal. Inq.;

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[1] From O.W.Scand. *þak*, or M.E. *þak* (O.E. *þæc*), which properly meant 'roof', tectum, then the material of which a roof is composed, thatch; here in the special, secondary sense of grass, straw, or perhaps birch-bark (see *þak* in FRITZNER), which is cut for thatching. In N.E. dial. *thack* sometimes signifies the waste corn left in the fields unraked (E.D.D.); moreover, in Li. it is still employed of long, coarse grass, rushes, etc. growing on the moors (and esp. of Arundo phragmites, see STREATFEILD p. 371), though never now used for thatching. In like manner e.Dan. *tag* was applied to standing grass, straw, rushes (KALKAR); it actually occurs in this application in several Dan. place-names, for which see STEENSTRUP, Da. Stednavne, p. 104. Cf. Norw. dial. *tak* 'roof, birch-bark'.

[2] M.E. *þēf* (O.E. *þēof*, O.W.Scand. *þjófr*) 'thief'. As for *-heued* cf. above p. 37 n. 3; on M.E. *wra* 'angle, corner', Scand. loan, see in Ch. 5.

[3] O.W.Scand., O.E., M.E. *þorn* 'thorn, thorn-bush' = e.Dan. *torn*. Cf. the O.Dan. place-name *Thornthwed* SRD.

[4] From a lost place-name **Þornebú*, the 1st mem. of which may have been the O.W.Scand. female name *Þorný* La. (O.Dan. *Thorny*) or as in preceding name. 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bú* 'a farm, household', or *býr* 'farm.' The dropping of the initial *Thor-* in the course of the 13th cent. appears partly to depend on false association with the adj. M.E. *nēwe* 'new' and the frequent North Engl. place-name Newby, e. g. *Neuby* Wm. 1277 C. Inq., *Neubi* Yo. 1196 Lanc. Fin. Conc. (in Clapham), etc. WYLD & HIRST cannot explain the name.

Thestelthwayt 1386 Pat. R.; *Thistilthuayte* 1485 C. Inq.; in Inglewood.[1]

Thistelthuait Lanc. 1240-68, *Thistelwat* 1242-55 Cockers. Ch.; in Farleton.[1]

Tranthewayt Wm. 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Tranethayth* 1309 C. Inq.; *Tranthwayte* 1390 Cal. Inq.; in Kendal parish. Now Tranthwaite?[2]

Uluethewayt Wm. 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Ulnethayth* 1309 C. Inq.; *Ulthwayte* 1390 Cal. Inq.; near Kendal. Now Ulthwaite?[3]

Wlnetueit[4] Yo. 12. cent. (Inspex. 1293), see Hosp. of St. Leonard, York, Mon. VI, 2; ident.(?) with *Wlnethait*[4] c. 1200 Newburgh ch., Mon. VI, 1; *Ulthwayte* 1539 Min. Account ibid.; near Bagby.[3]

Wluetheit Lanc. 1199 Lanc. Inq.; [*Ulvethwait* 1250-56, *Hulfthuait* 1220-46 Cockers. Ch.];[5] *Wlfthwayt* 1312 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Outhwaite, in Roeburndale.[3]

Hulvesweit Yo. 1196 Feet of fines; near Stainley?[6]

Ulvesweit Lanc. 1228 Cl. R.; *Ulvesweyt* 1340 Pat. R.; in Quernmore.[6]

Ulvesthweit Lanc. 1202 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; in Gressingham?[6]

Wakefeldthwayt Yo. 1325 Cal. Inq.; near Wakefield.[7]

Wallerthwayt Yo. 1198 &c. Fountains Mem., 1228 Ripon Mem.; *Wallerthwaytes* c. 1260 Selby Ch.; *Walrethwait* 1299 Yo. inq.; *Wallerthweit* 1340 Pat. R.; *Wullerthwayt* 1360, *Wallorthwayt* 1364 Rot. Orig.; *Wallertwhaite* 1466 Ripon Ch. Acts; now Wallerthwaite.[8]

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[1] O.W.Scand. *þistill* (O.Swed. *þistil*, e.Dan. *tistel*), or O.E., M.E. *þistel* 'thistle'.

[2] O.W.Scand. *trani, trana* (O.Swed. *trana*, O.Dan. *tranæ*) 'a crane'. Both the forms are recorded as surnames (F. Jónsson, Tilnavne). Cf. O.Dan. *Trani*, pers. name (see Nielsen).

[3] O.W.Scand. *ulfr* (O.Swed. *ulver*, O.Dan. *ulf*) 'wolf', or the pers. name *Ulfr* (O.Dan. *Ulw*, O.Swed. *Ulver*).

[4] Obvious misspellings (or misreadings?) for *Wlve-*, other errors of the same description being found in the quoted charter of 1293.

[5] These two forms are identified by the Editor of Cockers. Ch. with Outhwaite, in my opinion erroneously, since it appears from the context of the charters that they relate to a piece of land in Forton.

[6] Probably from O.W.Scand. *Ulfr*, pers name. Cf. preceding names.

[7] 1st mem. is identical with the present place-name Wakefield, the *Wachefeld* of DoB.

[8] 1st mem. is probably gen. sing., normally *vallar*, of O.W.Scand. *vǫllr:* 1) a plain or field 2) a close or paddock, as in the compound *vallar-garðr;* see further Vigf., and Rygh, Indl. Of O.Norw. place-names containing the same word may be noted *Vallar øy* E.J. (see N.G. III p. 276), *Vallar bøo* D.N. 23 (1437). — Hardly from O.W.Scand. *vallari*, 'a pilgrim, tramp' (German loan-word), or from the late M.E. *wallare* 'stonemason', of which Stratmann-Bradley's dict. gives a

Walltwhate Cumb. 1486 C. Inq.; now Wallthwaite, near Keswick[1].

Wantwait Cumb. 1302 Cal. Inq.; now Wanthwaite, near Keswick[2].

Waythebuthwait Cumb. 13th cent. Furness Ch.; *Waybur-thuayt* 1281 Wickwane's Reg.; now Waberthwaite[3].

Wargetheweit, *Warghetheweit* Li. 12. cent., *Wargarthweit,* e. 13. cent. Greenfield ch., Mon. V. Near Greenfield and Aby[4].

Winstirthwaytes Wm. 1282 Lanc. Inq.; *Winsterthwaites* 1323 Cartmel ch., Mon. VI, 1; *Winsterwaite* 1411 Cal. Inq.; not identifiable[5].

Wynanderthwayte Wm. 1337, *Wynanderwath* 1347 Cal. Rot. Ch.; now disappeared from the map[6].

Wythewayth, *Withwayt, Witthawait* Yo. e. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ugthorpe[7].

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single instance from Prompt. Parv., c. 1440. It is true that some earlier instances of the latter word used as a surname seem to have existed, according to BARDSLEY, but they all belong to southern England. — We have apparently the same Scand. word in the M.E. place-name *Wallertorp* Yo. 1215 Rot. Ch., which I am unable to identify.

[1] From O.E. *weall,* M.E. *wal:* 1) a wall that is made 2) a natural wall, a steep hill, a cliff (BOSW. TOLLER).

[2] The etymology of the 1st mem. is obscure. It might represent O.W.Scand. *vándr* 'bad' (see FRITZNER), or M.E *wan* 'wan, pale, faint', O.E. *wann* 'dark, dusty', etc., of the colour of material 'dark, dingy'.

[3] 1st mem. has been suggested by the Rev. J. WILSON in the Scottish Historical Review I, 62 f. (1904) to be from the O.E. man's name *Wyberth,* and the same view is held by COLLINGWOOD, Scandinavian Britain, p. 203, although no documentory evidence has been adduced in support of it. From the above spellings it is clear that the 1st mem. was originally O.W.Scand. *veiði-búð* 'a hunting or fishing shed'; *veiði* (and *veiðr*) meant 'a catch, hunting, fishing'; cf. O.E. *wāþ* 'wandering, hunting', OHG. *weida* 'venatio' piscatio'. The village of Waberthwaite stands on the estuary of the river Esk, 1 1/2 miles from the Irish Sea. The element *búð* seems soon to have been replaced by *búr* — cf. above Burthwaite — the *r* of which has been retained in the name down to the present day.

[4] O.W.Scand. *vargr* (O.Swed. *vargher*) 'a wolf; also a thief, robber, outlaw'. O.Dan. *Wargh,* pers. name. Cf. O.E *wearh* 'a villain'.

[5] 1st mem. seems to be the same word as the place-name Winster Wm. — written *Wynster* 1461 Pat. R. — or the name of the river Winster.

[6] From the same word as that which forms the 1st member of the lake-name *Wynandermer* Wm. 1271 C. Inq., now Lake Windermere.

[7] Probably from O.W.Scand. *viðr,* O.Swed. *viþer,* O.Dan. *vith* 'a wood' = M.E. *wude* < O.E. *wudu.*

Yolthait Yo. 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Lead, near Tadcaster[1].

Yoghannetheit Yo. 1241 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Yockenthwaite[2].

Wlvelaikeburne (3 ×) *Wlvelaiburne* (1 ×) Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; in Teesdale.

Probably from a partly anglicized form of O.W.Scand. **ulfa-leikr* 'wolves' playing, frolic'. From the orthography of the record it appears that M.E. *wulf* has here been substituted for the originally Scand. 1st member. This part of the country was much infested with wolves at that time. The same charter — a grant by Bernard de Baliol to Rievaulx Abbey of wide pasturage in Teesdale — provides for the catching of them by means of traps: '*pedicas vero ponent ad capiendos lupos . . .*'[3].

Ullacke Cumb. 1302 Cal. Inq.; [*Ullayk mire* 1308 C. Inq.]; *Ullayke* 1334 C. Inq.; *Ullayk* 1334 C. Inq., 1338 Rot. Orig., 1338 Cl. R., 1398 Cal. Inq.; now Ullock, in Dean par.

2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *eik* 'oak-tree' or the derivative *eiki* 'a wood or grove of oak-trees' (on the M.E. place-names containing these words see above p. 36 f.). The name is most interesting on account of its association with the heathen worship of the Scand. settlers in the county. For the 1st mem. is, in all probability, from the name of the ancient Scand. god *Ullr*, or, rather, represents the gen. sing. case *Ulla* of the weak side-form

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[1] Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *jóll* 'wild Angelica' (Vigf.), Norw. dial. *jol;* O.W.Scand. *hvann-jóli* 'a stalk of Angelica'. Or from the pers. name *Iol, Iole* that is discussed by Björkman, Personennamen, p. 73 f.

[2] 1st mem. is of very uncertain origin, the more so as only one M.E. form is on record, to whose etymology the present spelling does not afford much of a clue. It looks like O.W.Scand. *Ioghan,* a late variant of *Iowan* < *Iōan (Iōhan)* with insertion of *w* for the purpose of avoiding hiatus; for details see Noreen in Ark. I, p. 156 f. But the validity of this explanation is materially lessened by the fact that, in the collections of Lind, the forms with *-gh-* in this and analogous cases do not appear until about 1400 or late 14th century; in O.Swed. the intermediate stage with *-w-* is recorded since the beginning of the same century. The O.Dan. form *Iuvarus* 1216 SRD. (for *Iuær,* see Nielsen) does not seem altogether reliable That, for all this, an O.Scand. *Ioghan* existed as early as the middle of the 13th century, the date of the place-name under notice, may, in itself, not be entirely impossible.

[3] Last member is M.E. *burne* 'brook, streamlet.'

Ulli, which seems also to have existed; see Snorra Edda, the Arna-Magn. edition 1848-87, p. 102, where two of the MSS. have this weak form. Cf. further Lundgren, Språkl. intyg om hednisk gudatro i Sverige, p. 69 f. The name of this god was of frequent occurrence in O.Norw. and O.Swed. local names of all descriptions, on which may be consulted P. A. Munch, Norrøne gude- og helte-sagn p. 199-221, the volumes of Rygh, N.G., and Lundgren, l. c. Of the oak-tree we know that it was held sacred among the Teutonic peoples from time immemorial (cf. Schrader, Reallexikon der Indogerm. Altertumskunde, p. 856 f.), and its name is often met with in ancient designations of places of worship. With regard to Scandinavia, see, e.g. Sophus Bugge's explanation of the Norw. place-name *Gurrik*, cited in N.G. VI. A noteworthy counterpart of the English Ullock is the O.Swed. place-name *Frøseke* S.D. I (1404) 'the oak-grove of (the god) *Frö,*' the O.W.Scand. *Freyr*.

Westgayl, *Westegayl* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; near Broughton, or Stokesley.

Contains O.W.Scand. *geil*. See further above, p. 56, under Hugill. Cf. *Austgail* below p. 153.

Whaytelandehevedes Yo. 12. cent., *Waitelandis-, Hwaitlandesheved* 1227-28, *Wheitelande-, Waytelandesheved* 1233-46, *Whaite-, Waitelandhevedes* 1216-55 Guisbrough Ch.; in Glaisdale.

1st component is O.W.Scand. **hveiti-land* 'a wheat-land' = O.E. *hwēteland* (Sweet, Ags. Dict.). Cf. O.W.Scand. *hveiti-akr* with the same meaning. O.Swed. *hvete,* Dan. *hvede* 'wheat'. The Rector of Danby Grosmont kindly tells me that nowadays wheat is grown on almost every farm in Glaisdale. The absence of the *h* in *Waite-* above may be due to imperfect spelling, since we cannot expect the *h* to have been lost in this position so far north of the Humber. This vacillation in the rendering of O.Scand. or O.E. initial *hw- (wh-)* is noticeable also elsewhere in the nomenclature of the chartulary; compare, besides, Baumann, Die Sprache der Urkunden aus Yorkshire im 15. Jahrh. § 210, Kluge in Paul's Gr. p. 1003, E.D.D. gr. § 240, and the place-name *Waitewra* in Ch. 5[1].

[1] 2nd component is M.E. *heved* in the sense of the upper end of a thing, here probably equal to M.E. *hevedlond* (O.E. *hēavudland*), N.E. headland: 'a strip of land in a ploughed field, left for convenience in turning the plough at the end of the furrows, or near the border; in old times used as a boundary'. See further N.E.D.

Wilchesbi, *Wilgesbi, Wilgebi* Li. DoB.; *Wilghebi* Surv. 1118; *Wilkesby* Tax. eccl., 1292 Cl. R., Rot. H., T.N., 1313 f. C. Inq., 1315 Cl. R., No. vill., 1327 Rot. Orig.; *Wylkysby* 1336, *Wylkesby* 1339 f. Cl. R.; *Wylkesby* 1392 Br. Mus., 1428 F.A.; now Wilksby.

Possibly from the O.Dan. man's name *Wiglek*, O.W.Scand. *Vigleikr*. A native name *Wiglac* seems not to have existed. Domesday, it is true, gives among the land-owners in Lincolnshire at least two persons named *Wiglac*, and one *Wilac*. But both these forms may have been anglicized from a Scand. ground-form. *Wilac* was, according to the same record, the brother of *Achi* (O.Scand. *Áki*), the son of *Siuuard*, and without doubt of Scand. extraction. In the case of the two others, Scand. origin may be presumed, considering that no other instance of the name is found, either in the pre-Scandinavian, nor, at all, in the O.E period, as far as the material in Searle goes. As for the loss of *g* in the place-name before us, it is to be remarked that this consonant is often lacking in O.E. pers. names apparently compounded with *Wig-* as 1st member. — [O.Dan. *Wiglek* enters perhaps, too, into

Wilechebi, *Wilebi* Le. DoB.; *Wyleby* 1284 F.A.; *Wyleweby* T.N.; *Wiluby* 1316 F.A.; *Wylughby* 1310 Cl. R., 1327 Le. Subs. R.; *Wyluby* 1428 F.A.; now Willougby Waterless.

Whether the other instances of the modern place-name Willoughby, of which four are to be found in Lincolnshire and three in Nottinghamshire, are of the same origin is debatable. The M.E. spellings that I have hitherto come across do not, if taken by themselves, allow of such a derivation. These names will be discussed further on, in Part II.[1] Cf. also Willitoft in Ch. 7.]

Ch. 3. Names containing O.W.Scand. øy, ey.

On O.W.Scand. *øy (ey)*, O.E.Scand. *ō* — arisen through *i*-mutation from the diphthong *ou (au)* — as a criterion of loan in M.E. words of Scand. origin, see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 63 f. with references. The corresponding O.E. sounds were W. Saxon *īe*, *ī*, *ȳ*, Kentish and Anglian *ē*. In M.E. place-names containing Scand. *øy* this is rendered in the orthography, since the earliest period, with *ei (ey)* and *ai (ay)*, and seems, in fact, to have un-

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

dergone the same development as the diphthong *ei* < Teutonic *ai*. On a sporadic spelling *oy* see p. 151 n. 2. The following name material belongs here[1]:

Eymunderby, etc. see above, p. 9.

Aiulftorp, *Aiultorp* Yo. DoB.; *Joltorp* 1203-4 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Yolthorp* 1235 Gray's Reg., Kirkby, 1295 Giffard's Reg., 1305 Cl. R., No. vill., etc.; *Yolethorp* 1294 Ch. R.; *Yoltorp* T.N.; now Youlthorpe.

From O.W.Scand. *Øyolfr* (O.Dan. *Øulw?*), pers. name.[2] Under the forms *Eiulfus*, *Aiulf* the name occurs A.D. 1166 in Liber rub.; as for other instances found in M.E. literature, see Björkman, Personennamen, p. 36. The dropping of the prefix *Ai-* in the place-name, which took place in post-Domesday times, must be an arbitrary mutilation, to be ascribed to the copyists.

Estrebi Li DoB.; *Eysteriby* Tax. eccl.; *Esterby* 1294 Spalding ch., Mon. III; *Aysterby* t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr., 1316 F.A., 1330 C. Inq., I.N., 1401 f. F.A.; *Aist'by* T.N.; *Aisterby* 1338 Pat. R.; *Eysterby* 1314 Ch. R., 1428 F.A.; now Asterby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *øystri* 'more eastern', a comparative from the same base as *austr* 'east'; see the M.E. names compounded with *Austr-* and *Aust-*, below p. 150 f.[3] — Compare in Ancient Norway *Øystramoo, Øystrarudi* E.J. etc.

Estanesbi Yo. DoB.; *Aistenby* 1198 Fountains Mem.; *Aystanby* 1258 C. Inq.; *Ayscenby* Kirkby; *Eynstenby* Plac. Warr.; *Aystenby* 1301 Yo. Subs., 1319 C. Inq.. 1346 Ripon Mem., 1380, 1408 f. Pat. R.; *Aystanby, Estanby* 1314 C. Inq.; *Escanby* No. vill.; *Aystynby* 1334-35, *Astenby, Astynby* 1405, *Aysynby* 1408 Pat. R.; now Asenby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *Øysteinn*, an exceedingly common pers. name in Norway, recorded as early as the 8th century. O.E.Scand. *Østen*. Of the same origin is the O.Norw. place-name *Øysteinsbø* E.J.[3] The spelling *Aysten-* above may go back to an anglicized form *Aystan-* with the *a* shortened to *e* in the un-

[1] It should be pointed out that for shortness' sake the O.W.Scand. ground-words in this chapter are quoted only in the *øy*-spellings, which were chiefly O.Norw.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

stressed syllable, provided the shortening did not take place according to the O.W.Scand. sound-law given by Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 145a, 1. — The same name enters, besides, into

Aistangarthes Yo. 12th cent. Whitby Ch.; in Ingleby, near Stokesley.[1]

Leisingebi Cumb. DoB., 1165-66 f. Pipe R., 1209 f. ib. V. H.; *Laysingby* 1246 f. C. Inq., Tax. eccl.; *Lesingby* 1272 Rot. Orig., 1281 Cl. R.; *Leysingby* Tax. eccl., 1295 Cl. R., 1302 N. Reg., 1367 Test. Karl.; *Leisingby* 1313 C. Inq., etc.; *Laisingby* 1312 Pat. R., 1348 Cl. R.; *Lesyngby, Lasyngby* 1429, *Lasingby* 1462 f. Pat. R.; now Lazonby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *løysingi (løysingr)* 'a freedman'; the word is also recorded as a surname (F. Jónsson, Tilnavne).[2] Under the forms *Leysing, Lesing*, etc. it was in frequent use as a personal name in Mediæval England, esp. in northern counties. Cf. further Björkman, Personennamen p. 92, with references, and Steenstrup, Danelag, p. 101. The same word forms the 1st member in

Leisingebi, *Laisinbia, Lesingebi, Lesighebi* Yo. DoB.; *Leysingeby* 1203 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Leislingebi* 1213 Guisbrough Ch.; *Lesingbi* 1279 Yo. inq.; *Lasingby* Kirkby, 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Laysingby* 1280 Cat. A.D., c. 1300 Guisbr. Ch., 1301 Yo. Subs., 1314 C. Inq., No. vill., etc.; *Laysynby* 1399 Pat. R.; now Lazenby, near Guisbrough.[2]

Leisingbi, *Leisencbi* Yo. DoB.; *Laisingbi* LVD.; *Laysingby* Kirkby; *Liesingby* 1298, *Lesyngby* 1299 Yo. inq.; *Leisinggeb'* T.N.; *Lasyngby* 1397 Pat. R.; now Lazenby, near Danby Wiske.[2]

Leisingstocking *[pratum]* Yo. 1200 Pontefr. Ch. Not identifiable.[3]

Laysingcroft Yo. uncertain date, Guisbrough Ch.; near Upleatham.[4]

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[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *garth* (< O.W.Scand. *garðr*, O.Swed. *garþer*, O.Dan. *garth*) 'a small piece of enclosed ground, usually beside a house or other building, used as a yard, garden, or paddock; a fence or hedge' (N.E.D.).

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[3] 2nd mem. M.E. *stoc* or O.W.Scand. *stokkr* 'stock, trunk'; 3rd mem. O.E. *ing*, given by Middendorf in the sense of 'meadow'.

[4] O.E., M.E. *croft* 'a small, enclosed field'; see further in the beginning of Ch. 7.

Laisingtorp Li. 1208 Bardney Reg., Mon. I; near Partney?[1]
Lesingthorpe Yo. 1303 A. Plac.;[1] cf. ibid. *Lesingcrofte*. Not identifiable. On the spellings *Lesing-*, *Liesing-* see BJÖRKMAN l.c.

Raveneserot Yo. 1251 Ch. R.; *Raveneser Hodde, Odravenser* 1259 C. Inq.; *Ravenesher, Ravenesodd* Rot. H.; *Ravenesor'* 1276 Cl. R.; *Vetus Ravenser, Ravenserodde* 1297 Yo. Subs.; *Ravenser* Kirkby, No. vill., etc.; *Ravenser-Odd* No. vill.; *Ravenserod* 1332 C. Inq.; *Ravenserodd* 1340 Pat. R.; etc.; two lost towns on the Humber.

The older of these two names occurs in the Orkneyinga Saga as *[af] Hrafnseyri*, from which spelling it appears that the 2nd mem. was O.W.Scand. *øyrr* 'a gravelly bank'; Norw. dial. *øyr*, N. E. dial. (Wm. Lanc.) *air* 'a sandbank, or ridge made by the action of water'. 1st mem. was, then, O.W.Scand. *hrafn* 'raven', also recorded as a pers. name (La. etc.). The younger town borrowed the name of the older with the addition of O.W.Scand. *oddr, oddi* 'a point or tongue of land'. — Ravenser has been identified with Ravenspurgh, mentioned in Shakespeare's Richard II., Act II2 as the landing-place of Bolingbroke. Ravenserodd was submerged by the sea at the end of the 14th cent.; not long afterwards Ravenser shared the same fate. On the history of the two towns see STREATFEILD, p. 238 f.; cf. also SKAIFE in Publ. of Surtees Soc. 49, p. 247 n.

Reineford Lanc. 1202, 1208 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Reinesford, Raynford, Reinford* 1246 Lanc. Assize R.; *Rayneford* 1250-68 Cockers. Ch., 1278 f. Lanc. Assize R.; *Raynford* Plac. Warr., 1346 Pat. R.; *Rayneford* 1292 Rot. Orig.; *Raynesfort* 1404 Pat. R.; *Raynford* 1447 Cal. inq. Lanc.; etc.; now Rainford.

1st mem. may be the O.W.Scand. collective *røyni* 'a clump of rowan-trees'; cf. *røynir* 'a rowan-tree' (O.Swed. *röne*, e. Dan. *røne*).[2] The same word is found in the O. Norw. place-name *[i] Røynisuelle* D.N. 3 (1384), and the Icelandic *Reynis nes* La.

O.W.Scand. *røyni* seems to enter into some other M.E. place-names, where, it is true, it is very difficult to differentiate from the man's name *Hreinn* (see Rainthorpe, etc. p. 73), which is also to be taken into consideration in most cases. Here belong further:

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.
[2] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford.

Raynebergh Yo. 12th cent.(?) Pontefract ch., Mon. V.[1]
Rainnisfeld Yo. 1263 Giffard's Reg.; near Mexborough.[2]
[**Renesgill** Wm. 1240 Furness Reg., Mon. V; *Reingill* 1241 P. Pipe R.; *Renegile* 1246 Lanc. Inq.; *Renegil* 1256 P. Pipe R.; now Reagill?][3]

On Rainthorpe Norf., and *Raynestwayt* Lanc., see above p. 73 and 119 n. 7 resp.

Reysebek, *Reisebeke, Reyesbek* Wm. 1310 Whitby Ch.; *Raisbek* 1342, 1412 Furness Ch.; now Raisbeck.

1st mem. might be from O.W.Scand. *hrøysi* 'a heap of stones' (see next name),[4] if it is not to be connected with the O.W.Scand. verb *rísa* (O.E. *rīsan)* 'to rise', *reisa* 'to raise', etc. A derivation similar to this last-named is suggested by Rygh (Norske Elvenavne p. 189) for the Norw. river-name *Reisa.*

Rasaker, *Raysakur* Lanc. 1249, *Reysacre* 1285, *Raysaker* 1286 Lanc. Inq.; *Raysacre* 1283 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Roseacre, in Kirkham.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *hrøysi* 'a heap of stones, cairn'; Norw. dial. *røys,* Swed. *rös, röse,* Dan. *røs, røse.*[5] The O.W.Scand. word survives in N.E. dial. *raise* (Cumb. Wm. Lanc.) 'cairn, tumulus'; of the same origin is the M.E. place-name *Le Rayse* Lanc. 1246-68 Cockers. Ch. (in Forton). Furthermore, the word is preserved in the following compounded names in M.E.:

[Thornton subtus] **Reysebergh**' Yo. t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; *[Thorneton de] Riseberg*' Kirkby; *[Thornton sub] Rysbergh* No. vill.; *[Thornton under] Risbergh* 1335 C. Inq.; now (Thornton) Risebrough.[6]
Reysbrec Lanc. 1220-40 Cockers. Ch.; in Scotforth.[7]
Raysefeld Lanc. 1240-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Ellel.[8]
Raysland Nhb. 1479 Hexham ch.; in Stannington.[9]

Compare with these such O.Norw. names as *Røyseland* D.N. 11 (1405), *Rœysi* ibid. 2 (1295), *J Røysilidhenne* E.J. Cf. too, M.E. *Staynrayse,* below in this chapter.

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[1] On 2nd mem. see above p. 13 n. 2.
[2] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'.
[3] On 2nd mem. see next page n. 1.
[4] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bekkr,* or M.E. *beck* 'a brook, stream'.
[5] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *akr,* or M.E. *aker* (O.E. *æcer*) 'a piece of tilled or arable land'.
[6] On 2nd mem. see above p. 13 n. 2.
[7] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *brekka* 'a slope'.
[8] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'.
[9] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *land* (a plot of) land.

Saithegile *[rivulus]* Cumb. 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI,1. An affluent to the river Calder, in Ponsonby.

1st mem. is probably O.W.Scand. *søyð* f.: a place in a rapid stream or torrent where the water bubbles on the surface, as in a boiling pot (see FRITZNER). From the same base are the derivative *søyðir* 'a cooking-fire', and the vb. *sjóða* 'to cook', O.E. *sēoþan* 'to seethe', and *sēaþ* 'a pit, hole, well, reservoir, lake'; MHG. *sôt* 'das wallen, kochen; brunnen, das wasser worin etwas gesotten wird' (MÜLLER-ZARNCKE's Wb.), etc.; see further GRIMM's Wb. On some Norw. local names containing a river-name of a similar form, see RYGH, Elvenavne p. 262.[1]

Skaytebec, *Sketebek* Yo. 1271 C. Inq.; *Skeytebek, Skaytebec, Scaitebek* 1272 Cl. R.; now Skate Beck, near Girrick, par. of Skelton-in-Cleveland.

1st mem. seems to be the same word as O.W.Scand. *skøyti*, an *ia*-derivative from the same base as *skaut* 'a corner, angle'. But *skøyti* is recorded only in the sense of a shaft, missile. For want of a better explanation it may be presumed that in the name before us *skøyti* was employed in the same sense as *skaut*. Analogous doublets are O.W.-Scand. *hyrni* and *horn* 'corner' (FRITZNER). In that case the word was applied to the stream in consideration of its numerous angles or bends, which are distinctly visible on the Ordnance Survey Map. RYGH (see Elvenavne p. 215) gives some instances of a Norw. river-name beginning with *Skaut-*, to which word he, hesitatingly, assigns the same meaning.[2]

Stanheir Lanc. 1205-25, 1220-30 Cockers. Ch.; in Tatham.

2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *øyrr* 'a gravelly bank' (cf. above under *Raveneserot)*; 1st mem. M.E. *stān* 'stone'. It is possible that a similar hybrid M.E. compound **staneir* was the ground-form of the unexplained N.E. dial. *stanner* (Sc. Irel. Nhb. Lanc.) 'small stones and gravel in the bed or by the margin of a stream; a ridge of stones formed by the sea' (E.D.D.).

In the township of Nottingham there were in late Middle Ages several closes and meadows called *Stener*. Thus we find in 15th century records of the Borough such instances as *Ingollsteneres*, later *Yngald Stener, Ingersteynour; Epursteyner, Herberd Stener, ye Lytulle Stener,* etc. There can be no doubt that these forms contain an original O.W.Scand. **steinøyrr*, signifying, as above, a bank covered with small stones or gravel. That is confirmed by the fact that, as is pointed

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[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *gil* 'a cleft, fissure, narrow valley or glen'; borrowed in M.E. as *gill* 'a deep rocky cleft or ravine, usually wooded and forming the course of a stream'. Since the e. N.E. period recorded, besides, in the sense of a narrow stream, a brook or rivulet (N.E.D).

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bekkr*, or M.E. *beck* 'a brook, stream'.

out by the Editor of Nott. rec., all the places in question abutted upon the ancient or modern course of the river Trent. The contracted forms with *e* < *øy* have developed under weak stress. A parallel is possibly Swed. *stenör* 'stony or gravelly ground', though it is true *ör* can here have descended as well from the equivalent of O.W.Scand. *aurr* 'gravel'.

La Staynrayse Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; in Wensley Dale.

From O.W.Scand. **stein-hrøysi* 'a heap of stones, cairn' = *hrøysi;* cf. above under *Rasaker*. The same word, with its 1st member anglicized to *stan,* is found several times as a place-name in Lancashire, apparently denoting some kind of boundary-mark:

Stanreys 1235-62 Cockers. Ch.; in Stainall.
Stanrays 1200-40 » » ; in Bilsborough.
Stanrays 1268-79 » » ; in Forton.

For additional instances of the same type I refer the reader to the Cockersand Ch.

Ch. 4. Names containing O.W.Scand. ou, au.

O.W.Scand. *ou*, *au* (O.E.Scand. *ǭ*), developed from Teutonic *au* and corresponding to O.E. *ēa*, M.E. *ę̄*, is discussed by Björkman, Loan-words, p. 68, 78 &c., where its capability of serving as a test of Scand. loan in M.E. is dwelt upon.

With regard to the M.E. place-names treated in this chapter we find in their spellings the usual M.E. representatives of the Scand. diphthong, namely *ou*, *o*, *au*. Occasionally all these variants appear, in the course of the Middle Ages, in the forms of one and the same name. But, on the whole, the *ou* is by far the most frequent except in Domesday, where the *o*-spellings prevail, while the *au* is all but absent. On some instances of *ol*, *al*, which are due to A.N. inverted spelling, see below under Oadby. The early appearance of the *o*-vowel in the Cumb. *Copeland* (< O.W.Scand. *kaupa-*), in the two Yo. and Hunt. names composed with *Copman-* (O.W.Scand. *kaup-maðr*), and in the Li. *Lopyngethorp* (< O.W.Scand. *hlaupingia-*) is striking, and seems, to some extent, to confirm Luick's theory respecting the loss of *u* in M.E. *ou* (and *au)* before a labial sound, combined with lengthening of the former element of the diphthong (Arch. 107, p. 322 f.; cf. Björkman's criticism in Loan-words, p. 299). But on the other hand the Nhb. *Coupland* occurs in M.E. almost exclusively with the diphthong *ou*, and if we turn to the Lanc. *Coupmanneswra*, we find comparatively few instances of the *o*. However that may

be, the late M.E. form *Cap-* of the latter name is remarkable. The place-name material certainly does not yield the necessary premises for any definite conclusion on this point, the more as *ou* is found alternating with *o* also before other consonants in names belonging to different parts of Mediæval England. Björkman (Loan-words, p. 78 f.) attributes the *o*-forms *(< au)* of the Scand. loan-words in M.E. partly to some supposed similar dialectal pronunciation within the O.Scand. languages themselves at the time of the borrowing, partly to O.E.Scand. influence, which all seems very likely. But as far as the place-names are concerned, the state of things sometimes carries us beyond the range of this hypothesis. When their earliest spellings on record contain a diphthong, the subsequent alternation between *ou, o* implies an actual transition *ou* > *ō* on M.E. territory, which may have proceeded from tendencies in that direction within the language of the new settlers, or within the native dialects. And it should be noticed that the influence of the O.E.Scand. monophthongization cannot have been felt in all those parts of Scand. England where the contracted forms are met with. However, it still remains to decide the local extension of the transition just hinted at, as well as the conditions under which it took place; in attempting that we are essentially hampered by the paucity of the material in most counties. Fresh light might be shed on these questions by a careful inquiry into the local pronunciation of the place-names interpreted below, and also, as Björkman (l. c.) points out, by an examination of the general stock of words belonging here which have survived in the modern dialects.

Among my own material which is given below the reader will miss one category of names that he may have expected to find here. I am referring to the numerous names that contain O.W.Scand. *haugr* (O.Swed. *högher*, O.Dan. *høgh*) 'a hill, mound, cairn'. Of this word there occur in M.E. place-names several forms: *hogh, hough, howe, hou,* &c. They coincide in spelling with contemporary forms of O.E. *hōh (hō)* 'heel', M.E. *hoȝe, howe, how* (< O.E. *hōȝe*, dat. sing.) and — esp. in the north — *hogh, hough*, which latter word was, too, very frequent in place-names almost everywhere in Scand. England. Having primarily meant 'heel', it was already in O.E. applied to 'a promontory, a projecting ridge of land, a height ending abruptly or steeply'; cf. N.E. dial.

hoe. Now if we find a M.E. name terminating in *-howe,* &c. it is clearly impossible to determine, from a phonological point of view, which of the two words we have before us. In a few cases the character of the other member affords something in the nature of a clue to a plausible derivation, but as a rule we are left to what can be gathered by means of topographical investigations. Since I have not been in a position, for the present, to undertake any with the thoroughness and accuracy which would be desirable, I have preferred to give a survey of these names in the later, non-phonetical, part of the present work.

As matters stand, the following material remains for consideration:

Ansgotesbi, *Ansgotebi* Yo. DoB.; *Osgotebi, Osgetebi* 1200 A.Plac.; *Angodeby* 1204 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Osgoteby* t. Hen. III. Br. Mus., Rot.H., T.N., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill.; *Osgotby* 1280 Ch. R.; *Osgoteby, Hosgoteby* Kirkby; *Osgodby* 1302, *Osgodbi, Osgotebi, Angotebi* 1311 Ch. R.; now Osgadby, in Hemingbrough par.

1st mem. is the pers. name O.W.Scand. *Ásgautr,* O.Swed. *Asgøter, Asguter, Asgot,* O.Dan. *Asgot, Osgut,* etc.[1] The many various M.E. forms (*Osgot, Ansgot, Angod* etc.) of this name, which must have been in frequent use in Scand. England, are discussed by Björkman, Personennamen, p. 14 f., to which I refer the reader for details. The same name, or the O.W.Scand. side-form *Ásgauti,* enters into some other M.E. place-names, of which the following spellings may suffice:

Ansgotebi Yo DoB.; *Angoteby* t. Hen. III. Liber rub.; *Osegodeby* 1247 Ch. R.; *Osegoteby* Rot.H., Kirkby; *Osgoteby* 1300 Cal. Inq.; *Osgotby* 1327 C. Inq.; now Osgodby, in Thirkleby par.[1]

Asgozbi Yo. DoB.; *Angoteby* 1206 Ped. fin. Eb., 1247 Ch. R.; *Angodeby* 1251 Rievaulx Ch.; *Osgoteby* 1252, 1332 ibid., 1291 Rot. Orig., 1294 Cl. R., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill.; *Osgotby* Kirkby, 1301 Yo. Subs., 1358 Rot. Orig.; *Osgodby* 1323 Whitby Ch.; *Angoteby, Osgoteby* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; now Osgodby, in Seamer par.[1]

Osgotebi Li. C.S. 1280 (c. 1050), DoB., 1139 Round, Ancient ch.; *Osgotesbi* DoB.; *Ansgotebi, Osgotabi, Osgotebi* Surv. 1118; *Ansgotebi* 1167-68 Pipe R.; *Angoteby* 1209 Li. rec.; *Osgoteby* 1266-79 Br. Mus., Rot. H., 1337 Cl. R.; *Osgotby* 1231 Cal. Rot.

[1] 2nd mem, as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

Ch., 1273 &c. Cal. Inq., 1281 Chron. Petrob.; *Angoteby, Osgoteby* T.N.; *Osgotteby* 1303, *Osgotby* 1316 F.A.; *Osgoldby* 1331 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Osgodby* 1346, 1401 F.A.; now Osgodby, near Market Rasen.[1]

Osgotebi Li. DoB.; *Ansgotesbi* 1125-28 L. Niger S.P.; *Osgoteby, Ossegotteby* T.N.; *Osegoteby* Rot. H., 1316 F.A.; *Osgoteby* Rot. H., 1327 C. Inq.; now Osgodby, in Lavington.[2]

Osgodtorp Le. DoB.; *Osgodesthorp* 1124 Le. Survey; *Angodestorp* 1199 Le. fines, c. 1200 Br. Mus.; *Angodesthorpe* Rot. Hug.; *Osegosthorp* 1275 Staff. Plea R.; *Asgarthorp* 1263 Ch. R.; *Osgerthorp* Tax. eccl., 1303 A.Plac.; *Osegotthorp, Osegothorp* Rot. H.; *Hosegotetorp* T.N.; *Osgodetorp, Osgotthorpe* 13. cent., *Osgaresthorp, Osgarsthorpe* 1386, *Osgherthorp* 1368 Cat.A.D.; *Osgarthorp* 1396, *Osgathorpe* 1412 f. Pat. R.; now Osgathorpe.[3]

Osgotcros Yo. DoB., 1310 C. Inq.; *Osgodecros* 1165-66, *Osgodescros* 1166-67 Pipe R.; *Osgodcros* 1284 Kirkstall Ch.; *Osgotecros* Rot. H., 1285 C. Inq.; *Osgotcrosse* 1327 C. Inq.; *Osgotecrosse* Rot. H.; *Osegodcrosse* 1338 Cl. R.; *Osgodcrosse* 1377 f. Pat. R.; etc.; now Osgoldcross wap.[4]

Brochelesbi Li. DoB.; *Broclosbi, Broclesbi, Brochesbi* Surv. 1118; *Broclausbi* c. 1150, late 12. cent., *Broclousebi* c. 1150-60, *Broclosebi* 1156-57?, *Brochlosby* 1263, *Brockelousbi* 1306 Br. Mus.; *Broclowsby* 1268 Ch. R.; *Brokelousby, Brokelousetby* Tax. eccl.; *Broclousby* Rot. H., T.N., 1304 Br. Mus.; *Brokelesby* Rot. H., 1303 f. F.A., 1349 f. Br. Mus.; *Brokelsby* 1316 F.A.; *Broclosby* 1322 Cl. R.; *Broccelby* 1325 f., *Brocklesby* 1339, *Brocelby* 1344 Pat. R.; *Broklesby* 1331 Br. Mus., 1339 Pat. R.; *Brolelousby* 1346 F.A.; *Brokklesby* 1378 Pat. R.; *Brokylsby, Brokelysby, Brokelesby, Brokesby, Brokesley* 1428 F.A.; etc.; now Brocklesby.

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] This place is recorded as *Osgoteby* C.S. 22 (C.D. 984) in an alleged grant by Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, to the monastery of Medeshamstede (Peterborough) of various lands and privileges. The deed, which is dated 664, contains not a few Scand. place-names in North., Rutl. and Li., e. g. *Iolthorpe, Alethorpe, Ragenildetorpe, Breidesthorpe, Ingeðorp, Thurleby, Riseby*, etc., which suffice to prove it to be spurious. I have examined the MS. in the British Museum (MS. Cott. Aug. II, 5); it is wonderfully well preserved and, beyond every doubt, a late 12th century forgery, as may be inferred from the hand and from the spellings of the place-names.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[4] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *kross* 'a cross'. Cf. Staincross, above p. 86.

As 1st mem. Streatfeild suggests 'Brok, a dwarf noted for skill in working metals', while Napier & Stevenson (Crawford charters, p. 70) derive it, with great hesitation, from O.E. *Brocwulf*, pers. name. But the evidence of the above M.E. spellings discredits both these derivations. From the early post-Domesday forms it is obvious that the 1st member was originally the O.W.Scand. adj. *brók-lauss* 'breekless' (Vigf.), applied as surname to some settler on the spot. The reduced vowel in the spelling *Brocles-*, etc. may be due to weak stress in the composition, or the M.E. equivalent *les* (O.E. *lēas*) may have been substituted. As for the writing *Brokesby* above, which is taken from the Subsidy Rolls of 1428, Zachrisson (p. 152) seems to ascribe the absence of the *l* to the M.E. tendency to drop this consonant in an unstressed position before another consonant. That may be so, though allowance must be made for the possibility of association with place-names beginning with *Brokes-*, such as *Brokesby* Le. in the Subsidy roll of the same year 1428 (*Brochesbi* DoB., now Brooksby) and others; cf. *Brokestou*, besides *Brocholwestouwa*, Nott. 1457 Br. Mus. (*Brocolvestov* DoB.) now Broxtow. The spelling *Brochesbi* in the survey of Henry I. is no doubt a scribal mistake for *Broclesbi*, which form occurs in the same entry; a glance at the hand of the MS. (see Facsimile ed.) will show that the letter *h* could easily be miswritten for *l*. Napier & Stevenson (l. c.) state that the Domesday form is *Brochesbi*, which, however, I cannot find in the record.[1]

Gaukewelle Li. 1163 Br. Mus.; *Gouckwelle* 1197 Selby Ch.; *Goukwell* Rot. Hug., 1382 Cal. Inq.; *Goucwell* 1257 Ch. R.; *Gouke swelle* 1311 f. Pat. R., 1373 Cal. Inq.; *Goukewell* Rot. H., 1314 Ch. R.; *Gowkwell* 1394 Li. wills[1]; *Goukeswell* 1411 Pat. R.; *Gookwell* 1505-06 N.C. wills; now Gokewell, in Broughton.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *gaukr* (O.Swed. *gøker*, O.Dan. *gøk;* O.E. *ʒēac*) 'a cuckoo'.[2] The word was often employed as a personal name in O.W.Scand. (see Lind; on its use as a nickname see F Jónsson, Tilnavne, and Kahle, Altwestnord. Beinamen). This also holds good of Scand. England, esp. Lincolnshire, where we find the pers. names *Herbertus Gouk* Rot. H., *Thomas Gouk* 1341 Cl. R.; cf. *Philippus Gouke* Guisbrough Ch.; etc. When the word is

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderbi, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *welle* 'a spring, fount'; N.E. well.

found in compounded place-names, it is often impossible to decide whether it represents the appellative or the pers. name. It occurs in the following additional M.E. place-names:

Gouthorp Norf. Rot. H., T.N.; *Goukethorp* 1367 Cal. Inq., 1368 Rot. Orig.; *Gowethorp* 1449 Br.Mus.; now Gowthorp.[1]

Gauthorp Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem.; *Goukethorpe* 1274 Wakefield Court R.; *Gouthorp* 1298 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Gaukethorpe* 1480 Pat. R.; now Gawthorpe.[1]

Gheuetorp, *Geutorp* Yo. DoB.; *Goutorp* 1203 Ped. fin Eb.; *Goukthorp, Gouthorp* 1235 Gray's Reg. (p. 247);[2] *Gauthorp* 1276 Ch. R.; *Gouthorp* Kirkby, 1298, 1346 f. Cl. R., 1299 Ch. R., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No vill., 1318 Yo. doc., 1347 Pat. R., 1378 Cat.A.D. &c.; *Golthorp* c. 1260, 1296 Yo. doc.; *Gowethorpe* 1378 Cat.A.D., 1398 Cal. Inq.; now Gowthorpe.[1]

Gawthrop Lanc. 1472 Lanc. inq.; now Gawthorpe Hall.[1]

Goukebusk Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem.; now Goakebush?[3]

[**Gawkeholme,** *Gunkholme* Lanc. 1520 Cal. inq. Lanc.; now Gawxholm.[4]]

[**Golsa** *Golse* Li. DoB.; *Golsa* Survey 1118; *Goussa, Gousla* c. 1150–60 Br.Mus.; *Gausile, Gousle* e. 13. cent. Br.Mus.; *Gousel* 1211 Ped. fin. Eb., 1269 Br.Mus., Rot.H., 1312 Pat.R.; *Gousil, Gousul, Gousele* T.N.; *Gausell* 1265 Cal. Inq.; *Gousell* 1286 C. Inq.; *Goushill* 1290 &c. C. Inq., 1428 F.A.; *Gonsyl* Tax. eccl.; *Goushull* 1295, 1350 Cl. R., I.N., 1346 F.A.; *Gousyl* 1303 F.A.; *Gousill* Rot. H., 1316 F.A., 1392 Pat. R.; *Gouxhill* 1331 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1341 Pat. R., 1346, 1401, 1431 F.A., 1401 Li. wills[1]; *Gouxhull* 1338 Cal. Inq., 1346 Pat. R.; *Guxhill* 1428 F.A.; *Coxhill* 1467, *Goussell* 1475 Pat. R.; etc.; now Goxhill.

1st mem. was, perhaps, originally the same word as the O.Norw. river-name **Gaus* f. which is in ablaut-relation to the

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] In the Inspeximus or royal charter which ratifies and confirms a grant of land by Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, 'in the vill of *Goukthorp*', A.D. 1235, this place-name is rendered with *Couthorp, Coutorp, Goutorp* 1252 Ch. R. These last forms are identified by the Editor of Ch. R. with the modern Cowthorpe (Claro wap., West Riding), which must be a mistake.

[3] 2nd mem. is M.E. *busk, busch* 'bush'.

[4] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *holmr* or *holmi:* 1) an islet, esp. in a bay, lake, or river 2) a hill or elevation rising from level ground, land or a marsh. N.E. dial. *holm*, see E.D.D.

O.W.Scand. verb *gjósa* 'to gush'; cf. Norw. dial. *gaus* m. 'an outflow, a stream of liquid or air', which is identified by F. Jónsson (Tilnavne) with the O.W.Scand. surname *Gauss*. This O.W.-Scand. word *gaus* might possibly be the source of N.E. dial. (only Cumb.) *gowze* 'a rush or gush of fluid'; of a fluid: 'to burst out suddenly'. Rygh (Elvenavne) gives some Norw. place-names containing the river-name *Gaus*, such as *Gausaaker, Gausnes; J Gausenñe* E.J., etc. Now the village of Goxhill stands on the northmost slopes of the Wolds, near which flows a small stream to the river Humber. Was the word *Gaus* the ancient name of this stream, the present name of which I have not been able to ascertain? It almost looks as if the earliest forms of Goxhill represented a river-name **Gaus-á* (O.Scand. *á* 'a stream'; on the A.N. spelling *ol* for *ou* see below under Oadby), and as if there had long reigned great confusion as to the real form and signification af the 2nd member, till this was fixed, at last, as *hill*. The 14. cent. and subsequent forms above exhibit as 1st mem. genitive of O.W.Scand. *gaukr* (see prec. name), but this word must have been introduced into the name at that late period, since it cannot be reflected by the consistent earlier forms.][1]

Goutebi Li. 1196 Feet of fines; *Gauteby* T.N., 1338, 1349 Pat. R.; *Gouteby* Tax. eccl., 1330 C. Inq., 1337 f. Pat. R., 1316, 1428 F.A.; *Goutebie* 1310 C. Inq.; *Gouteby, Gaudeby* 1394 Pat. R.; *Gokby* 1490 C. Inq.; now Gautby.

1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Gauti* (O.E.Scand. *Gøte*), recorded in Iceland as early as the 10th cent. (Lind).[2] Fairly frequent in O.Norw. place-names, as e. g. *Gautarud* E. J.; see further Rygh, Personnavne. On M.E. territory the name occurs as *Gouti* DoB., 1165-66 Pipe R., etc. It enters, moreover, into

Goltebi Le. DoB.; *Goutebia* 1124 Le. Survey; *Goutebi* 1182 Br.Mus.; *Gauby* 1206 R. Oblat., 1254 Cat.A.D.; *Gouteby* 1202 Le. fines, 1267 Cal. Rot. Ch., Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1329 Pat R., 1336 Br.Mus., 1344 Cl. R., &c.; *Gouciby*

[1] Obscure is the relation of this name to *Golse* Yo. DoB., *Gousle* Kirkby, *Goulshull* No. vill., *Gousill* t. Hen. III. Yo. doc., 1388 Cal. Inq., *Gouxhill* 1483 Cal. Inq., now Goxhill, which name appears to be identical in form and development with the Li. Goxhill.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

1273 A.Plac.; *Goudeby* 1390 Pat. R.; *Gouteby, Goudeby* 1428 F.A.; *Gowdeby* a. 1437 Br.Mus.; now Goadby Marwood.[1]

Goutebi Le. DoB., 1166—67 Pipe R.; *Goutby* 1275 C. Inq.; *Gouthebey* Rot. H.; *Gouteby* 1156 Ch. R. III, Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., 1319 Pat. R., 1336 Tallage rolls, see Le. rec. II, 39; *Goucheby* 1327 Le. Subs. R.; *Goudeby* 1346 Cal. Rot. Ch.; now Godeby.[1]

Gotesthorpe Suff. 1280 A.Plac.; *Goudestorp* uncertain date Colchester Ch.; *Gasthorp* 1335 Suff. fines; now lost?

1st mem. seems to be gen. of O.W.Scand. *Gautr* (O.Swed. *Gøt*),[2] a pers. name found, though not very frequently, in O.W.Scand. place-names, e. g. *Gautsdal* La.; see further Lind. In one of Round's Ancient charters we meet with a certain *Gaut, capellanus* A.D. 1174; the same name appears as *Goutr* in Ped. fin. Norf. From *Gautr* (or *Gauti*, see prec. name) is, moreover, the 1st mem. of

Gauthscou *[boscum, in Normannebi]* Yo. 1203 Ch. R. III; in Normanby.[3]

Houkesgarth, *Houkesgard, Hauchesgard* Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Houkasgart, Houkesgart, Okesgard, Haukesgard* ibid.; *Hokesgard* 1166-67, *Haukesgarð* 1175-76, *Hokesgarth* 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Haukasgarth* 12. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *Hokesgarthe* 1212 Rot. Ch.; *Houkesgarth* 1213 Whitby Ch.; *Haukesgarth* 1298 Yo. inq., 1301 Yo. Subs., 1299, 1308 f. Whitby Ch.; *Haugesgargh* No. (vill.; etc.; now Hawsker, near Whitby.

1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Haukr* O.Swed. *Høker*, O.Dan. *Høk*),[4] which appears as early as La. and was in frequent use in Norway and Iceland; see Lind. The name is identical with the appellative *haukr*, etc. 'hawk'. — There are in M.E. records not a few place-names that have *Hauk-* or *Haukes-* as 1st member. In almost every county in Scand. England, and outside it, we come across compounds such as *Haukwell, Haukeswell, Haucherst* (Kent), *Haukedon, Haukhull,* etc. By far the largest percentage of these are without doubt of native origin and contain M.E. *hauk* < O.E. *havoc,* N.E. hawk. An

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. — The Domesday spelling *Goltebi* is explained below p. 154.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *skógr* 'a wood'; cf. Scorbrough, p. 15.

[4] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *garðr* (O.Swed. *garþer*, O.Dan. *garth*) in the sense of 'a farm'. Cf. above p. 132, under *Aistangarthes.*

O.E. man's name of the same form seems not to be known according to Björkman, Personennamen, p. 66. But it is most likely that such a name once did exist, although it may have early fallen into disuse, and, like several other O.E. pers. names, has survived only in place-names. There can hardly be any doubt that a name like O.E. *Hauekestune* Cambr. C.D. 907 (Eadweard), *Havochestun* DoB., *Haukestone* 1316 F.A., now Hauxton, is composed with a pers. name **Havoc.* The same applies to *Havochesberie* Glo. DoB., *Hauekesbiri* 1252 Ch. R., 1272 C. Inq., *Haukesbery* 1303 F.A., now Hawkesbury, and some other cases into which I cannot enter here. Kemble's index to C.D. gives from the south of England some O.E. place-names beginning with *Havoces-*, of which at least two or three seem to contain the pers. name. And in Stanmer, Sussex, there was in O.E. times a field-name *hafocunga leahge* C.S. 197, the former member of which looks like a patronymic derived from the pers. name just mentioned. Further it is to be noted that the gen. case of the O.E. appellative *hafoc* is not seldom found in place-names, as may be seen from the indexes of C.D. and F.A. All this being so, it is clear that we can in no case assign Scand. origin to M.E. place-names beginning with *Hauk[es]*, unless spellings with the diphthong written *ou, o* can be adduced in support. Forms of that kind reflect a very common development of the Scand. diphthong in England (cf. on this above p. 136 f.), which is well evidenced from Scand. loan-words in M.E., and such forms may be regarded as doubtless of Scand. origin. Apart from Hawsker,[1] this holds good of the following names:

Houcbyg Li. 1066 Thorpe, Dipl.; cannot be identified.[2]

Houkesete Lanc. 1197-1200 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Houkesete, Howkeset* e. 13. cent. Furness Ch.; *Haukeshed* 1336, *Haukeshevede* 1400, 1407 ibid.; now Hawkshead.[3]

Hokeswelle, *Haukeswelle* Lanc. 13. cent. Lanc. ch.; now Hawkswell.[4]

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[1] Not far from Hawsker is a place called Hogarth (Hill), which name may be of the same origin. It is stated to be identical with *Haukesgarth* 1299, 1344 Pat. R.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[3] 2nd mem. perhaps from O.E. *sēte, sēte* 'a settlement' (Middendorf), subsequently changed for M.E. *hefed*, for which see p. 37 n. 3.

[4] 2nd mem. is M.E. *welle* 'a spring, fount'; N.E. well.

Hochesuuic Yo. DoB.; *Haukeswik* 1198 Fountains Mem.; *Haukeswyk* Kirkby, No. vill., 1378 Poll-tax; now Hawkswick.[1]

Hocwella Norf. DoB.; *Hokewold* Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A.; *Hokewolde* 1302 F.A.; *Hockewolde* Rot. H.; *Houkewold, Houkewolde* 1346 F.A.; *Hokwold* 1350 Pat. R., 1401 F.A.; *Hocwold* 1428 F.A.; now Hockwold.[2]

Hochesuorde Nott. DoB.; *Houkeswrda* 1178—79 Pipe R.; *Houkeswurd* 1251 Ch. R.; *Houkesworth* 1288 A.Plac., 1300 Ch. R. &c.; *Hokesworth* 1295 A. Plac., 1346 F.A.; *Hokes-, Hokeworth* 1302, *Hokesworthe* 1316 F.A.; *Hoxworth* t. Edw. III. Plac. Warr.; *Hokesworth, Howkes-, Haukesworth* 1428 F.A.; &c.; now Hawksworth.[3]

Howkeswra Li., see below, in Ch. 5.

Caupalandia, *Couplandia* Cumb. t. Hen. I. St. Bee Reg., Mon. III; *Cauplandia* 1135-54 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Copelandia* 1189 Ch. R. III; *Coplande* 1210-12 Liber rub., 1218 Pat. R., 1235 Bracton, 1245 P. Pipe R.; *Caupilland* c. 1240 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Caupland* 1292, *Caup-, Cawp-, Coupland* 1182 f. Pipe R. V.H.; l. 13. cent. Furness Cl.; *Coupeland* 1225, 1335, 1407 f. Pat. R., 1275 Lanc. Assize R., 1281 Wickwane's Reg., 1321 Rot. Orig., 1322 f. Cl. R.; *Coupland* 1228 Ch. R., Tax. eccl., 1294 Cl. R., 1317 f. Cat.A.D., 1334 Pat. R., 1412 Furness Ch., 1428 F.A. *Caupeland* 1365 Cat.A.D.; *Caupeland, Coupelond* 1405, *Coplande* 1434, *Copeland* 1479 f. Pat. R.; now Copeland.

From O.W.Scand. *kaupa-land* 'purchased land' = *kaupa-jǫrð* (O.Swed. *köpe iorþ, köpiordh*), opp., in a way, to *óðals-jǫrð* 'an allodial estate' (VIGF.); *kaup* 'a bargain' = O.E. *cēap*. The appea-

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[1] 2nd mem. is possibly O.W.Scand. *vík* 'a small creek, inlet'. According to RYGH, Indl. p. 85, there are not a few instances of O.Norw. place-names in which *vík* has been applied to a bend of a river. Compare the meaning of the river-name **Veik* (above, p. 70), and also O.Swed. *vik:* 1) a creek, bay 2) a corner, angle. Hawkswick is on the river Skirfare.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *wold* < O.E. *wald, weald:* (high land covered with) wood, forest. About five miles to the north of Hockwold lies Northwold (*Nort walde* DoB., *Northwolde* 1316 f. F.A.), and, between the two, Methwold (*Methelwalde* DoB., *Meðelwolda* 1175-76 Pipe R., etc., from O.W.Scand. *meðal* 'between, middle-').

[3] 2nd mem. is O.E. *worþ, wurþ, weorþ:* 1) a close, an enclosed place, 2) an enclosed homestead, a habitation with surrounding land.

rance of the word *kaupa-land* as a place-name on M.E. territory is most remarkable; the dictionaries (FRITZNER, and VIGF.) have only one instance of the word to quote from O.W.Scand. literature, viz. from Biskupa Sögur. It is not included in HERTZBERG's Glossary to the ancient laws of Norway.[1] The same name is found, again in northern England, as

Coupeland Nhb. 1227 f., 1346 Pat. R., 1323 Cal. Inq.; *Copplande* 1232 Pat. R.; *Couplaund* 1255 f., *Coupelaund* 1278 Nhb. Ass. R.; *Cowpeland* 1350, *Coupland* 1364 Coldingham ch.; *Coupland* 1280 Nhb. Pipe R.; 1346, 1428 F.A.; now Coupland, in Kirk Newton.

Couplandfell Cumb. 1321 Cal. Inq.

Composed of the last name but one and M.E. *fell* 'mountain' < O.W.Scand. *fjall*, O.Swed. *fiæll*.

Koupemoneswra Lanc. 1212 Lanc. Inq., T.N.; *Caupemanneswra* 1228 Cl. R.; *Coupmanneswra* 1229, *Copmanneswra* 1231 Pat. R.; *Kaupmanwra* 1244, *Copmanwra* 1246-48 Lanc. Inq.; *Copmannewra* 1232 Pat. R., 1245 Lanc. Assize R.; *Coupmanwra* 1227-36 Lanc. Priv. deeds, 1222-26 f. Lanc. Inq., 1235-68 Cockers. Ch., 1276 L. Assize R., 1319 L. Fin. Conc.; *Copenewra* 1235 L. Fin. Conc.; *Cawepenwra* 1397 Pat. R.; *Caponwra* 1458 L. Priv. deeds; etc.; now Capernwray.

1st mem. is gen. of O.W.Scand. *kaup-maðr* (O.Swed. *köpman*) 'a merchant'.[2] The word was, besides, employed as pers. name, for which see LIND (O.Swed. *Køpmannus*, LUNDGREN); also in Scand. England (BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen). Found in O.W.-Scand. local names, e. g. *Kaupmanznes* D.N. 5 (1360), *Kaupmanzrudh* E.J., etc. Cf. the M.E. place-names *Chepemanescumba* Som. 1230 Bracton, now Chaffcombe, and *Chapmanneshala* Hamp. 1189 H. Pipe R., from the native M.E. *chepman*, *chapman*. O.W.Scand. *kaupmaðr* enters, moreover, into

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[1] In a royal charter issued by William I. to the monastery of St. John, Beverley, Yo., in a passage dealing with landed property, we find the phrase '*on witword oðde on caupland*'. This refers to land, acquired, according to BOSWORTH-TOLLER, 'by testament or purchase'. Probably *witword* had in this case a wider sense than merely that of testament. The matter is worthy of special investigation. Cf. STEENSTRUP, Danelag, p. 188 f.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *wra* < O.W.Scand. *[v]rá* 'corner, nook', for which word see further in Ch. 5.

Copeman Torp Yo. DoB.; *Copmonistorp* 1194-95 Maitland, Court R.; *Caupemantorp* Rot. H.; *Coupmanthorp* 1283 Wickwane's Reg., Plac. Warr., Kirkby, Tax. eccl., 1302 Yo. inq., Feod. mil. Eb., 1315 C. Inq., I.N., 1347 Pat. R., etc.; *Coupemanthorp* No. vill., 1378 Poll-Tax; *Copemanthorp* 1347 Cal. Rot. Ch.; now Copmanthorpe.[1]

Copemaneforde Hunt. DoB.; *Copmanesford* 1207 A.Plac.; *Copmaneford* 1225 Pat. R., 1285 F.A., Rot. H.; *Coppemaneford, Copemanford* Tax. eccl.; *Copmanford* Rot. H., 1303, 1428 F.A., I.N., 1348 f. Cl. R., 1372 Br.Mus.; now Coppingford.[2]

Coupmannefordemer Hunt. c. 1150 Saltrey ch., Mon. V.

Composed of the preceding name + O.E., M.E. *mere* 'a sheet of standing water; a lake, pond, marsh, fen', etc. N.E. dial. *mere*.

Cahosbi Yo. DoB.; *Cousebi* 1200 A. Plac.; *Causeby* 1227 f. Pat. R.; *Kouseby* 1268 Giffard's Reg.; *Chouseby* Kirkby; *Couseby* 1301 Yo. Subs., 1312 Pat. R., No. vill., I.N.; *Kauseby* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Coosby by Trysk, Collesby* 1476 Pat. R.; now Cowsby.

1st mem. is gen. of O.W.Scand. *kausi* 'a cat', also recorded as a nickname (see Fritzner, and F. Jónsson, Tilnavne). Norw. dial. *kause*.[3] It enters into some O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Causastad* D.N. 3 (1347), *Kausabøle* E.J. Does the late M.E. surname *Caus* (*Gregory Caus, Thomas Caws*, in Rye's Calendar of the freemen of Norwich) go back to the same word?

Lofwic Lanc. 1202, *Lowyk* 1256 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Laufwik, Laufwic, Louwyk*, &c. 13. cent. (?) Furness Ch.; now Lowick.

From O.W.Scand. *lauf* 'leaf, foliage' (see also *Louthweit* p. 117), or the related beck-name **Laufa*, which is recorded in Norway, cf. Rygh, Elvenavne.[4]

Loukeland, *Louklandes* Yo. 1327 C. Inq.; *Loukelandes* 1399 Cal. Inq.; now Lawkland, near Austwick.

1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *laukr* (O.Swed. *löker*, Dan. *løg*) 'a leek, garlic' = OE. *lēac*. In N.G. I, 263 Rygh states that a great number of O.Norw. place-names are composed with *laukr;*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *ford*, N.E. ford.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[4] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *vík* 'a bend of a river' (cf. p. 145 n. 1). Lowick Green is on a bend of the river Crake (cf. p. 69), close to the effluence of a beck into it.

he mentions some instances, among them *Laukaland*, an exact parallel to the M.E. name before us, 2nd mem. being O.W.Scand. *land:* (a piece of) land.

Lopintorp Li. DoB.; *Lopinthorp* 1234 Li. rec.; *Lopyngethorp* 1258 Ch. R.; *Loupingtorp, Lopintorp, Loppingthorp* T. N.; *Lopyngthorp* 1303 F.A., 1340 Pat. R.; *Lopingthorp* 1313 C. Inq., 1317 Cal. inq. da., 1396 Cal. Inq.; now Lobthorpe.

1st mem. is possibly gen. of O.W.Scand. *hlaupingi* 'a runaway, landlouper, vagabond'.[1] Does the same word enter into *Lobingehā* Li. DoB., *Lopingheham* Surv. 1118, now Little London? If this derivation be right, the diphthong *au* must have been monophthongized here at a very early date, perhaps owing to O.E.Scand. influence.

Glowesbi Le. DoB.; *Lousebia* 1124 Le. Survey; *Losebeia* 1154-89, *Louseby* 1199 charters rel. to the Hosp. of Burton Lazars, Mon. VI 2; *Losebia* 1200 Rot. Ch.; *Louseby* c. 1225 Rot. Hug., 1254 Le. rec., T.N., 1300 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1301 Rot. Orig., 1302 f. Cl. R., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1297, 1338 f., 1412 Pat. R.; *Louseby, Lowseby, Lowesby* 1428 F.A.; *Lowesby* 1478 Pat. R.; now Lowesby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *lauss* (O.E.Scand. *løs*) 'loose, free' (O.E. *lēas*), of which several meanings are recorded. What the adj. originally signified in this particular case, is not quite clear. There is hardly any O.W.Scand. word compounded with it that throws any light upon the question. Possibly *lauss* occurs here in a sense approaching that of its O.Swed. equivalent in the compound *lösiorþ:* a free piece of land, which is not attached to a farm (see Söderwall). **Lausa-bœr* would then mean a 'loose' or free, perhaps isolated, farm, detached from some main estate. But O.W.Scand. *bœr* meant not only the farm as a whole, but also the farm-house, *bœjar-hús* — cf. the phrase *reisa bœ:* to erect a farm-house, see Fritzner under *bœr*. Supposing *bœr* had this sense in the present case, the compound would have denoted a loosely (opp. firmly, solidly) built house; cf. the recorded *lausa-búð* 'a shed, extemporised booth'.

Moureholm Lanc. 1323 Cl. R., 1324 Lanc. Inq., 1340 Pat. R.; *Maurholm* 1334 C. Inq.; *Mourholm* 1344, *Morholm* 1347-48 Cl. R.;

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe p. 4.

Mourholme, Moreholme, Morholm 1327-77, *Mawresholme* 1411, *Mauresholme, Mawrholme* 1412 Furness Ch.; *Maureholme* 1334 Cal. Inq., 1431 F.A.; *Moreholme* 1472 f. Pat. R.; now Morholm, in Warton.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *maurr* 'an ant' (Norw. dial. *maur, mor*, e. Dan. *mør*, O.Swed., Swed. dial. *mör*). Frequent in O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Maurhaghe* E.J., *Maura þorpe* D.N. 8 (1317). As for the M.E. loan-word *maure*, recorded only once, in Troy Book, see BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 300 n.[1] The same word enters, perhaps, into

Moursette Yo. 1284 C. Inq.; *Moursatt* 1341 Cal. Inq.; now Marsett.[2]

Noutegange Yo. 1259 C. Inq.; near Skeckling.

From O.W.Scand. **nauta-gangr (-ganga)*, which seems primarily to have signified the walking about of the cattle while grazing, or their walking to the pasturage (Germ. Weidegang); then a walk or pasture for cattle. Cf. O.W.Scand. *fjár-gangr, fjár-ganga* 'a sheep-walk' (see VIGF., and HERTZBERG'S Glossary). The development in meaning undergone by these words is equal to that of Norw. *grœsgang* 'a pasture, meadow', German Gang, Weidegang, and also to that of N.E. walk, sheep-walk, for which see E.D.D. Of some interest is N.E. dial. *gang*, which occurs in some northern and Scotch dialects in the sense of 'a walk or pasture for cattle'. The N.E.D. has no references, in this case, before the end of the 19th cent., whereas, on the other hand, the O.W.Scand. equivalent *gangr (ganga)* was employed in the same sense, judging from the compounds above. It is, therefore, probable that N.E. dial. *gang* is in this respect a continuation, partly of the O.W.Scand. word introduced by the settlers, partly of the native one (O.E., M.E. *gang* 'going, journey, way, road, passing', etc.), with the sense in question adopted from the former word. Nevertheless, though there is no trace of it in literature, it is possible that O.E. *gang* itself once possessed the same meaning, considering that equivalents are found on the continent in German dialects; this application of the word must, in fact, have been Common Teutonic. See GRIMM'S Wörterbuch, under Gang.

In 1439 *William Hardinges*, a schoolmaster of Beverley, was fined 20 s. for putting milch-cows in the pasture of *Fegang*, against the re-

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Gawxholm; see p. 141 n. 4.

[2] The exact form and meaning of the 2nd member cannot possibly be decided. Perhaps the forms above are corrupt, from O.E. *sæte, sēte*, 'a settlement' (MIDDENDORF), or from O.W.Scand. *sætr* 'mountain pasture'. Or could it be the same word as Norw. dial. *sete, sate* m. 'a small, level place on a hill or cliff'? This latter word occurs in some Norw. place-names.

gulations (Beverley Chapter Act Book I, Introd. p. LXIV). This field-name may be considered as Scand., and may go back to an O.W.-Scand. **fé-gangr*, a side-form of the above-mentioned *fjár-gangr;* the form *fé* is often found in composition in O.W.Scand. I think the family name *Gategang* which is quoted from LVD. by Björkman (Personennamen) and explained by him from M.E. *gate* 'road, street', is, more likely, a formation analogous to *Noutegange* and *Fegang*, and contains as 1st member M.E. (northern) *gāt* 'goat'. Place-names used as family names are far from rare in the same part of LVD. To the same category of field-names belongs *le Somergang* Yo. 1310 C. Inq., the name of a common pasture in Sutton in Holderness, and properly signifying 'a summer pasture' = O.W.Scand. *sumarhagi*.

Oresbi Li. DoB., 1189 H. Pipe R.; *Ouresbi* Surv. 1118, 1139 Round, Ancient ch., 1163-65, 1203-5 Br.Mus.; *Orresbi* 1192 Br.Mus.; *Owresby* 1198 Feet of fines, Wells' Vic. book; *Auresbi* 1203, *Auresby* 1210 Li. rec.; *Ouresby* 1202 A.Plac., 1234 Li. rec., 1267 &c. Cat.A.D., c. 1273 f. C. Inq., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., 1298 &c. Pat. R., 1301 Ch. R., 1322 f. Cl. R., I.N., 1303, 1428 F.A.; *Ouresbi* 1327 f. Pat. R., 1358, 1401 Cat.A.D.; *Owresby* 1373, 1413 Cat.A.D., 1428 F.A.; etc.; now Owersby.

1st mem. may be the gen. case of O.W.Scand. *aurr* 'mud, wet soil, gravel'; see Vigf., and Rygh, Indl. p. 42. O.Swed. *ör;* Dan. *ør* 'sand, gravel' (Kalkar).[1] Of O.W.Scand. place-names compounded with *aurr* we note *Aurisnæs* B.J. (see N.G. XVI, 309), *Aursdals [sokn], Aurdal* E.J. A parallel to the latter name, on English territory, is apparently

Auredale Cumb. 1198 Feet of fines; not identifiable.[2]

Ouregrave Lanc. DoB.; *Oregrare, Houegrave* 1235, *Oregrave* 1246 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Horegrave* 1189-1226 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Orgrave* 1258 ibid., 1396 Pat. R.; now Orgrave (?), in Dalton-in-Furness.

1st mem., perhaps, as in preceding name. If *Orgrave* Yo. 1357 Yo. deeds, now Orgreave, is of the same origin, cannot be determined.[3]

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *dalr* (O.E.Scand. *dal*) 'valley' = M.E. *dale*, O.E. *dæl*.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Gargrave, p. 46.

Austerbi Li. 1166-67 Pipe R.; *Oustirby* 1354 Br.Mus.; near Bourne. Now disappeared from the map.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. adverb *austr* 'east', O.Swed. *östir*.[1] Does this element of the name survive in the name of the neighbouring Auster Wood (see the Ordnance Map)?

In O.W.Scand. place-name compounds *austr-* alternates with the shorter form *aust-*, which seems to have been more usual. In like manner *ēast-* and *ēaster-* are found in O.E. place-names. As examples may be adduced *Austby, Austþorpe, Austeræng, Austerholt* E.J., *Austrhæim* D.N. 1 (1347), *i Austfiordum* La., etc. The following is a list of M.E. place-names which appear to contain one or other of the two forms:

Austburne, *Augustburne* (!) Yo. DoB.; *Estbrunne* 1271 C. Inq., Plac. Warr.; *Estburne* No. vill.; now Eastburn, Kirkburn par.[2]

Oustrefeld Yo. DoB.; *Ousterfeld, Oustfeld* Rot. H.; *Hoystrefelde* 1281 Wickwane's Reg.; *Ousterford* 1278 Cal. Inq.; *Oysterfeld* 1283 C. Inq., 1293 Yo. inq.; *Ousterfeud* t. Edw. I. C. Inq.; *Ostrefeld* Plac. Warr., 1309 C. Inq.; *Oystrefeld* 1237, 1334 Cl. R.; *Austerfeld* 1332 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1378 Poll-tax, 1408 Yo. deeds; now Austerfield.[3]

Estrecale Li. DoB.; *Oustcal* Surv. 1118; *Estkele* 1302, *Estirkel* 1377, *Estrekele* 1387 Br.Mus.; now East Keal.[4]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] That this etymology is correct is proved by the names of the neighbouring places *Westburn* (now Kirkburn) and *Suthbrun* (now Southburn) No. vill. — Cf. p. 84 n. 2.

[3] There is a popular etymology, alluded to in CASSEL's Gazetteer, to the effect that the place derives its name from a Roman general Ostorius who was defeated there by the Britons. It is, of course, beyond dispute that the historic form of the place-name contains O.W.Scand. *austr*. The spellings *Oyster-, Oystre-* are worthy of attention; we have here the O.W.Scand. comparative *øystri* 'more eastern', substituted for *austr*. The rendering of Scand. *øy (ey)* by *oy*, which in view of its comparative frequency can hardly be due to erroneous spelling, is noteworthy. Cf. Introduction to Ch. 3, above p. 130. — On 2nd mem. see p. 134 n.2.

[4] As 2nd mem. STREATFEILD (p. 170) suggests O.W.Scand. *kjǫlr* (gen. *kjalar*), prop. a keel, then a keel-shaped mountain-ridge. He points out that the churches of East & West Keal are 'built upon a ridge of hill that rises like a lofty terrace from the level', &c. This derivation seems to be right, in spite of the formal difficulties involved by the *a*-vowel of the two earliest M.E. spellings.

Ostcotun Yo. 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Est Cotum* 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch., &c.; now East Coatham.[1]

Austmersk, *Oustmersc* Yo. 1319 Pat. R.; *Oustmersk*, *-merk* 1353 Cl. R.; *Oustemersk* 1415, *Oustmarsk* 1419 Cal. Inq.; *Oustemersk* 1407, *Oustemerk* 1476 Cat.A.D.; now East Marsh, near Ferriby.[2]

Austun, *Austhun* Yo. DoB.; *Oustona* c. 1150 Crawford ch., 1236 Bracton; *Ouston* 1285 &c. Cl. R., Tax. eccl., 1294 Ch. R., No. vill., 1327 C. Inq., I.N., 1352 Pat. R.; *Austan* 1349-50 Pat. R.; *Auston* 1378 Poll-tax; now Owston.[3]

Ostone Li. DoB.; *Ouston* c. 1180-90 &c. Br.Mus., 1252 f. A.Plac., Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., 1327 C. Inq., I.N., 1353 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; *Auston*, *Heuston* 1311 Ch. R.; now Owston.[3]

Oustorp Li. DoB.; *Oustthorp*, *Oustorp*, *[Uuestorp]* 1233 Cl. R.; *Oustorp* Rot. H., T.N., 1316 F.A.; *Houstorp* Rot. H.; *Ousthorp* 1353 Cl. R.; *Ousthorpe* 1325 Pat. R., 1330 C. Inq.; *Ousthorp by Iwardeby* 1334 C. Inq.; *Austhorpe* 1475 Pat. R.; now Ewerby Thorpe.[4]

Ossetorp Yo. DoB.; *Ousthorp* Kirkby, 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1327 Skyrack Subs., 1327 C. Inq.; *Austhorp* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill., 1480 Test. Leod., 1486 C. Inq.; *Austethorp* 1378 Poll-tax; now Austhorpe.[4]

Duuestorp Yo. DoB.; *Hausthorp* Kirkby; *Ousthorp* No. vill., 1344 f. Pat. R., 1378 Poll-tax; *Oustthorpe* 1345 Pat. R.; now Owsthorpe, in Eastrington.[4]

Ousteuuic Yo. DoB.; *Austewyke* 1198 Fountains Mem.; *Oustewyk* 1241 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1297 Yo. Subs., No. vill.; *Ostwike*, *Oustwyke* 1301 Yo. inq.; *Austwik* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Oustwyke* 1303 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Austewik* 1319 Cl. R.; *Austewyk*

[1] 2nd mem. is probably from O.W.Scand. *kot* 'a cottage, small farm', which word was often used in plural. Cf. above p. 18. Adjacent to East Coatham we find the hamlet of West Coatham, written *Westcotun* 1179-80 Pipe R.

[2] 2nd mem *mersk* is a Scandinavianized form of O.E. *mersc*, M.E. *mershe*, N.E. marsh. Cf. below under Rawmarsh, (p. 160), and *Odulfesmare* (p 157).

[3] On the 2nd mem. cf. p. 7 n. 1.

[4] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

1338 Pat. R., 1361 Rot. Orig.; *Austwyk* 1336 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1346 Pat. R., 1361 Rot. Orig., 1378 Poll-tax; now Austwick [1]

Osteuuic, *Hosteuuic* Yo. DoB.; *Ostwich* 1175-76, *Austwich* 1176-77 Pipe R.; *Ostwik*, *Austwic* 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Ouistwic* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Oustwyk* 1272 Ch. R., Kirkby, Plac. Warr., 1297 Pat. R., No. vill., 1327 Cl. R.; *Ouistwyke* 1279 Yo. inq.; *Oustwike* 1285 Ch. R.; *Oustewyk* 1287, 1310 f. C. Inq.; *Oustewik* 1292 Ch. R.; *Oust Wyke* 1297 Yo. Subs.; *Austwyk* 1343 Cal. Inq.; now Owstwick.[1]

Oustredinc, *Estreding* Yo. DoB.; *Austriding* 1135 Ch. R. III; *Austreing* 1154-81 York Hist. Apart from these instances, only spellings with *Est-* seem to be recorded. The East Riding of Yorkshire.[2]

Oustdale Yo. 1310 Ch. R.; in N. Deighton.[3]

Austgail Yo. 1204 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Croft.[4]

Ousthage [*nemus*] Li. 1189 Vaudey ch., Mon V; in Edenham.[5]

Owstholm Yo. 13 cent. (?), *Oustholm* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Flotmanby.[6]

Austculteraker, *Austerculteraker*, *Austcultacre* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[7]

Ostekow *[boscum]* Yo. 1233, *Oustscow* 1240, *Oskou* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; in Sproxton. See also *Eskowra*, among the names terminating in *-wra*, end of Ch. 5.[8]

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[1] It is hard to decide whether the 2nd mem. is from O.E. *wīc* 'dwelling, village', or O.W.Scand. *vík* 'bay, creek, inlet', in place-names occasionally referring to a bend of a river. Austwick and Owstwick both stand on small streams. Cf. above Hawkswick, p. 145.

[2] O.E. *þriþing*, adapted from O.Scand. *þriðjungr* 'a third part'. On the A.N. forms recorded in M.E. see ZACHRISSON, p. 99.

[3] 2nd mem. as in *Auredale*, see. p. 150 n. 2.

[4] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *geil*. Cf. *Westgayl* above p. 129, and Hugill, p. 56.

[5] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *hagi*, O.E.Scand. *haghi* 'a hedged field,' or ME. *haȝe*; see further p. 21 n. 3.

[6] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *holmr*, for which see above under Gawxholm, p. 141 n. 4.

[7] The remainder of the name is identical with the field-name *Culteracre*, which is recorded ib. in contemporary charters referring to the same locality. This appears to be made up of O.E. *culter*, M.E. *cultre* 'a coulter' + M.E. *aker* 'a piece of tilled or arable land', O.E. *æcer*.

[8] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *skógr* 'a wood'. Compare Scorbrough, above p. 15.

Austwode *[juxta Wystowe]* Yo. 1339 Cal. Inq.; now Outwood, near Wistow?[1]

Outheslund Nott. 1316 Pat. R.; in Sherwood forest.
1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Auðr*. Cf. in Norway *Auszæng* D.N. 4 (1344); *Audzakr* E.J., etc.[2]

Oldebi Le. DoB.; *Outheby* 1199 Le. fines, c. 1220 Rot. Hug., 1252 Le. rec., Rot. H., 1284 F.A., 1287 A.Plac., Tax. eccl., 1321 f. Cl. R., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1371 f. Cal. Inq., 1428 F.A., &c.; *Outeby* 1397 Pat. R.; *Oudeby* 1387 Cal. Inq., 1425 Pat. R., 1495 C. Inq.; *Owedeby* 1440 Pat. R.; now Oadby.
1st mem. is probably gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Auði* (O.Dan *Øthi*), or, possibly, from the adj. *auðr* (O.Dan. *øthæ*, O.Swed. *öpi*, Goth. *auþs*) 'empty, void, desert, desolate'. Both the words are of frequent occurrence in O.W.Scand. place-names; in several of them they cannot be properly distinguished from each other, since they coincide in form.

As to the form *Oldebi* in Domesday, it may be remarked that the symbol *d* here stands for the voiced interdental spirant *[ð]*, in accordance with the customary A.N. way of rendering this sound (see Stolze § 38, and Zachrisson, p. 97 f.). The writing *ol*, intended to represent the diphthong *ou*, is merely a case of inverted spelling. At the time of Domesday the O.Fr. vocalization of *l* > *u* before a consonant was certainly in progress in A.N. (see p. 177 n. 1, and Nyrop, Grammaire historique § 343), though the *l* was generally kept in the orthography. But by the side of those etymological spellings there existed numerous phonetic ones with the *u*-symbol; see the material brought together by Zachrisson, p. 146 f. The new diphthongs that arose in such a manner from an older *al, ol* before a consonant, must have borne a strong resemblance to the native M.E. or Scand. diphthongs *au, ou*, which led to the sporadic substitution, in the spelling, of *al, ol* for etymological, *au, ou*. One or two instances of this phenomenon, which apparently belong to the native stock of words, are mentioned incidentally by Zachrisson (p. 150). In addition to those, A.N. *al, ol* stand for 1) Scand. *ou, au* in *Goltebi* (< *Gauta-*,

[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *wude, wode* (O.E. *wudu*) 'a wood'.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *lundr* 'a grove'. Compare Londonthorpe, above p. 12 f.

see Goadby, p. 142), *Sallistorpe* 1338 Pat. R. (< *Sauðs-*, see Sausthorpe, p. 164), *Golthorp* c. 1260, 1296 Yo. doc. (< *Gauk-*, see Gowthorpe, p. 141), and, perhaps, in *Golsa* DoB. &c. (< *Gaus-*, see Goxhill, p. 141); 2) M.E. *ou* < Scand. *ó+ȝ* in *Scalceby* Yo. 1232 Ch. R. (< *Skógs-; Scoxebi* DoB., now Skewsby), *Echescol* DoB., *Aykescoel* 1251 Ch. R. (< *Eikiskógr*, see p. 38); 3) M.E. *au* < Scand. *a+ȝ* in *Almundernies* 1206 Lanc. Inq. (< *Agmundar-*, see p. 2). — The transition *Outhe-* > *Oude-* in Oadby, which was completed in the beginning of the 14th cent., seems to depend on dialectal sound-development.[5] Cf. E.D.D. gr. § 315.[1]

Outhethorp Yo. 1323 Cl. R; near Shadwell. Perhaps identical with *Owthethorp* 1555 Br.Mus. Now lost?

1st mem. as in preceding name.[2] Of like origin are probably the 1st members of the following names:

Outhorpe Nott. e. 12. cent. Priory of Thurgarton ch., Mon. VI 1, 1284 F.A.; *Outhorp* 1302 f., 1428 F.A., t. Edw. III. Plac. Warr.; *Owethorp* 1434 Pat. R.; now Owthorpe.[2]

Outhorp Le. 1388 Cal. Inq., 1391 Pat. R.; now Othorpe near Slawston.[2]

In the case of the last two names the voiced *ð* in **Auða-þorp* was early brought in contact with and assimilated to the initial voiceless *þ* of the 2nd member, syncope of the unstressed *a (e)* having taken place at an early period. Here belongs also

Othebei, *Oebei* Norf. DoB.; *Oubi* 1196 Feet of fines; *Ouby* 1304 Cal. fin., 1334 Norf. Ass., 1384 f. Cal. Inq., 1302 f., 1428 F.A.; now Oby.[3]

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[1] Bugge (Vikingerne II p. 283) conjectures that the place-name *Odingehem, -hen* Yo. DoB. comes from O.W.Scand. 'Audingaheimr: the home of Aude's descendant'. It is true that such a patronymic derivative of *Auðr, Auði* can be reflected by the spelling in DoB. according to the orthography of this record. But since there is no trace either of the diphthong *au* or of the spirant *ð* in spellings of later date, (*Adingham* 1252 Ch. R., Kirkby, No. vill. etc., now Addingham), and *Odinge-* may in itself as well be explained as a patronymic from O.E. *Oda,* Bugge's derivation must be discarded. In all likelihood the form in DoB. is to be regarded as a misspelling for an O.E. **Adingaham,* containing the patronymic *Ading* (from O.E. *Ada, Adda*) which enters into several M.E. place-names. There is no instance of a Scand. form *-hem* recorded elsewhere in M.E. Compare above p. 58 f.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

The loss of the intervocalic *ð* in the 2nd form in DoB. depends on A.N. sound-development; cf. Zachrisson, p. 82 f.

[**Othestranda** Norf. DoB.; *Ovestrande, Ovirstroud* Rot. H.; *Overstronde* 1398 Cal. Inq.; now Overstrand.

Perhaps originally from O.W.Scand. *auðr* 'empty, void, desert' (cf. under Oadby, p. 154), + *strǫnd* 'shore, coast' = O.E. *strand*. Adjoining this place, likewise on the North Sea, lies the parish of Sidestrand (*Sistran* DoB., *Sidestrande* 1189-99 Feet of fines, &c., from O.E. *sīd* 'broad, wide, extensive', and *strand*). The change of **auða-* for M.E. *ouer* 'over, above', in the former name, may have been suggested by the situation of the place north of Sidestrand, a little further up in the country.]

Odenebi Li. DoB.; *Ounabia, Ounabi, Ounebi* Surv. 1118; *Outhenebi, Outhenbi, Odenebi* 1150-55 Br.Mus.; *Ouneby* 1209, *Auneby* 1210 Li. rec.; *Oupeneby* 1250, *Authenby* 1249-53 Br.Mus.; *Outhenby* 1273 C. Inq., 1335 Pat. R., 1367 Cal. Inq., 1428 F.A.; *Outhembye* 1300 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Othenby* 1303, *Ouenby* 1346, 1401 F.A.; *Ougneby* 1310 C. Inq.; *Ouneby* 1228, 1325 f. Pat. R., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., 1308 f. C. Inq., I.N., 1316, 1428 f. F.A. &c.; *Owmeby* 1477 Cal. Inq.; now Owmby.

1st mem. is from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Auðun* (O.Swed. *Øþin*, O.Dan. *Øthen*), here apparently the genitive form *Auðuna*, with loss of the *r* of the ending, which is found in O.W.Scand. by the side of the regular *Auðunar* from the earliest (13th century) records onwards. See Lind.[1] The interchange of *Outhene-, Oune-*, etc. in the place-name before us is due to the operation of O.W.Scand. sound-laws. For *Auðun* seems to be a secondary nominative, arisen on the analogy of the genitive *Auðunar*, while the regular nominative was *Aun[n]*, developed from **Auwinn* < **AuðwinR*, the O.E. *Ēadwine*. Again, this nom. *Aun[n]* gave rise to the gen. *Aunar, Auna, Auns*. See Noreen in Altisl. Gr. §§ 220, 222 and Upsalastudier, p. 196.[2] — *Auðun* occurs in se-

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] The isolated spelling *Ougneby* (see above) can hardly reflect the O.Norw. phonetic variant *Augun*, the *g* of which is accounted for by the O.Scand. sound-transition ð > ȝ, which took place under certain conditions in pre-literary times; see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 251. — It is

veral O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Audunaby, Audunabøle, Audunakila* E.J., *Auðunar rud* D.N. 1 (1312). Compare the next five names.

Ounesbi Li. DoB., 1202, 1238 Li. rec.; *Ouneby* 1166-67 Pipe R., 1282 C. Inq., 1308 Rot. Orig., 1316 F.A., 1345 Cl. R.;? *Outhenby by Sleford* 1281 Ch. R.; *Owenby* 1303 F.A.; *Ounesby* Rot. H., 1304 f. Pat. R., 1323 Rot. Orig., 1335 C. Inq., 1336 Cl. R.; now Aunsby.

1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Aun,* for which see preceding name. Of the same origin is

Ounebi Li. DoB., 1175-76 Pipe R.; *Ounesby* Rot. H., 1287 C. Inq.; *Ouneby* 1226 Li. rec., Rot. H., 1254 Pat. R., 1315 C. Inq., 1316 F.A., &c.; now Aunby, in Castle Bytham. Also

Auneby Cumb. 1253 C. Inq.; not identifiable.

Ounespull Lanc. c. 1280 Cockers. Ch.; in Garstang.[1]

Ohtnebercg (MS. M. *Odeneberghe*) Yo. 12. cent., *[Neutun subtus] Otneberch* a. 1180 Whitby Ch.; *Outhenesbergh* 1239, *[a Parvo] Otheneberg, Ounesberg,* 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *[Parvi] Othensberg* 13. cent. (?) ibid.; *Ounesbergh* c. 1300, *Onesberghe* 1312 Whitby Ch.; *[Newton-] Othenbruche* (!) Kirkby; *Othenesbergh* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Onesbergh* No. vill.; *Auhmberghe* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; *Ounesburgh* 1409 Cal. Inq. &c.; the ancient name of the present Roseberry Topping, a hill three miles SW. of Guisbrough.

The oldest spellings on record are corrupt. 1st mem. is apparently from O.W.Scand. *Auðun*; see preceding names.[2] — Little Roseberry is about half a mile NE. of R. Topping.

Odulfesmare Yo. DoB.; now lost. Must have been near Brompton or Ebberston.

1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Auðulfr* (cf. *Audolfr aa Audolfsstodum* La.; O.Dan. **Øthulw,* Nielsen), which

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possible that one or two of the forms given above belong to (Searby with) Owmby, which appears as *Ounebi* Surv. 1118, *Outhenby* 1301 Ch. R., 1316 F.A., and being etymologically identical with the other Owmby, can, at times, not be kept distinct from it in our records.

[1] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *pull* 'a pool'; see N.E.D.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *berg,* or M.E. *berȝ* (O.E. *beorh*) 'a mountain'. When or how the form Roseberry came to supersede the ancient name is hard to tell. The latter was in current use still in the days of Camden, who remarks; 'Ounesbery Topping, a steep mountain and all over green, riseth so high that it appears at a great distance; and it is the land-mark that directs sailers, and a prognostick to the neighbours hereabouts', etc. See Britannia (1695), p. 753. On the summit there are, according to Bartholomew's Gazetteer, remains of an ancient British settlement.

was of common occurrence, esp. in Norway.[1] It is also evidenced several times from Scand. England: *Oðul* C.S. 1130 (972-92), *Audulf, Oudulf, Odulfus* DoB. — names of land-holders in Yorkshire in the time of Edward the Confessor —, and appears in O. Irish annals, where we find a certain *Odolbh Micle;* see The Academy 1890, p. 959. O.E. *Ēadwulf.* From *Auðulfr* seem, moreover, to be the 1st members of the following two names:

Authelburgh Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; now Addlebrough, a hill opposite Askrigg.[2]

Audlohow *in ye bothum* Yo. 1446 Whitby Ch.; a 'flat' in Skirpenbeck.[3]

Rounthwayt Wm. see above p. 120.

Routhebiria Nhb. t. Hen. I. Hexham ch.; *Rodebir* 1154-89, *Robery* 1198 (Inspex. 1271) Ch. R.; *Routhbiry, Routhebury, Routhbery* 13. cent. Brinkburn Ch.; *Roubyr, Rowebyr, Rubyr* 1255, *Routhebyr', Roubir* 1278 Nhb. Ass. R.; *Roubiri* 1248 C. Inq.; *Roubyri* 1269, *Rotheburi, Rowbiri* 1290, *Robury* 1291 Ch. R.; *Routhebyr, Routhbiry* Tax. eccl.; *Routh-, Roth-. Roubiry* 13. cent. Newminster Ch.; *Routhebiry* 1278, 1332 Cl. R., 1334 Pat. R.; *Routhebury* 1342 f. Cl. R., 1341 Pat. R.; etc.; now Rothbury.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *rauðr* (O.Swed. *röþer*, O.Dan. *rødh*, Goth. *rauþs*) 'red' = O.E. *rēad.*[4] The same word occurs in a

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[1] 2nd mem. *-mare* is certainly an imperfect spelling for M.E. *mares, mareis* (< O.Fr. *mareis,* med. Lat. *mariscus;* N.E. marish), here perhaps substituted for the usual O.E. *mersc,* M.E. *mershe* 'marsh: a tract of low lying land flooded in winter and usually more or less watery throughout the year' (N.E.D.). Not far from the locality under notice there is another place, mentioned in the same entry in DoB. as *Aschilesmares* (see p. 173); this name shows the same word as 2nd mem. in a more palpable form. This derivation squares well with the nature of the country immediately south of Ebberston and Brompton, where extends the wide area of low land that is termed The Carrs in the Ordnance Map, and includes inter alia Allerston Loft Marishes, Wilton Carr, Ebberston & Brompton Ings, etc.

[2] 2nd mem. looks like M.E. *burȝ, borȝ* (< O.E. *beorȝ* according to N.E.D.) 'a mountain, hill; a grave-mound, tumulus'. N.E. burrow and barrow.

[3] 2nd mem. is M.E. *how* < O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'hill, hillock, mound, cairn'. Cf. also outside Scand. England the place-name *Audulfes cnol* Wilt. C.S. 598 (901), in Chiseldon.

[4] 2nd mem. is M.E. *biri, buri* < O.E. *byriȝ,* dat. sing. of *burȝ* 'fortress, castle', etc., and often found as -bury in N.E. compound place-names by the side of -borough, from the nom., M.E. *boruȝ.*

fairly large number of other M.E. place-names, of which the following is a list (compare below, p. 161 n. 5):

Roudclif Yo. DoB.; *Routheclive, -cliff* Plac. Warr.; *Routheclyf* 1251 Ch. R.; *Routherclyve* 1299 Cal. Inq.; *Rucheclif* Rot. H.; *Routheclive* 1305 Pat. R.; *Routheclyve* 1309 Rot. Orig.; *Rouclyff* No. vill.; *Rouclif* 1338 Pat. R.; now Rawcliffe, in Snaith.[1]

Roudeclif Yo. DoB.; *Routhecliua* 1169-70 Pipe R.; *Routheclive* 1208 Ped. fin. Eb., 1308 Cl. R.; *Roucheclif* Rot. H.; *Rotheclyve* 1280 Ch. R.; *Routhclyve* 1299 Yo. inq.; *Rautheclif* 1303 Pat. R.; *Routhecliff* No. vill.; *Rouclif* 1319 f. Pat. R.; *Routheclif* 1320, *Rotheclif* 1323 Cl. R.; *Rouclyff* 1378 Poll-tax; *Rouclyf* 1406 Pat. R.; now Roecliffe, near Boroughbridge.[1]

Roudacliva Yo. 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R.; *Rouclif* 1318, *Routheclyf* 1323 Pat. R.; now Rawcliffe, not far from York.[1]

Rauthcliffe, *Routheclive, Rotheclive* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; now Rawcliff Banks, in Guisbrough.[1]

Rodeclif Lanc. DoB.; *Routheclif* 1212 Lanc. Inq.; *Routheclive* 1248 C. Inq., c. 1250 f. Cockers. Ch., T.N.; *Rotheclif* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1324 Cl. R.; *Upperoutheclif* 1318, *Uproutheclyf* 1323 L. Fin. Conc.; *Uproutheclif* 1323 Pat. R.; *Vprotheclive* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; *Uprowclif* 1346 F.A.; *Upraucl yf* 1369, *Upraucl if* 1467 L. Fin. Conc.; etc.; now Upper Rawcliffe.[1]

Routhecleve Lanc. 1285 C. Inq.; *Outroucliffe* 1320-46 Lanc. Surv.; *Outrothe clife* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; now Out Rawcliffe.[1]

Routheclive Cumb. 1203 Ped. fin., 1324 Cl. R.; *Routhclif* 1269 C. Inq., Tax. eccl.; *Routheclif* 1277 C. Inq., Tax. eccl., 1302 N. Reg., &c.; *Routhclive* 1294 Pat. R.; *Rouclif* 1346 Cl. R.; now Rockcliffe.[1]

Rodemele Yo. DoB.; *Rothemel* 13. cent., *Rothmell* 1338 Finchale ch.; *Routhemell* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill., 1338 Pat. R.; *Routhmel* 1307 Yo. inq., 1311 Ch. R.; *Rauthmell* 1314 C. Inq.; *Rauthmel* 1315 Cl. R.; *Routhmell* 1314 C. Inq., 1335 Pat. R.; *Routhemel* 1312 Ch. R.; *Rothemell* 1472 f. Pat. R.; now Rathmell.[2]

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[1] 2nd mem. O.E. *clif*, M.E. *clif, clive* 'cliff'. Out and Upper Rawcliffe in Lanc. are both in the parish of St. Michael on Wyre, adjoining each other. Hence their names are easily confounded when occurring in passages which give no guidance as to the locality.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *melr* 'a bank of sand or gravel'. The name is identical in form with the Icelandic *Raudamelr* (KALUND), *at . . Ravða mel* La.

Rodemesc Yo. DoB.; *Routhemareys, -mersk* Plac. Warr.; *Roumareys* 1282 Wickwane's Reg.; *Romaries* Kirkby; *Routhmershe* 1297 A.Plac.; *Routhemers* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1309 Yo. doc.; *Routhemerch* No. vill.; *Raumershe* 1338 Pat. R.; *Rauthmershe* I.N.; *Rothemerche* 1409 Br.Mus.; *Rawmershe* 1479 ibid., 1487 C. Inq.; *Rothemerch, Raumersshe* 1409, *Rawemerssh* 1440 f. Pat. R.; now Rawmarsh.[1]

Rodemilne, *Routhemilne* Li. c. 1155, *Raudemilne* c. 1155, *Raude-, Routhemilne* c. 1150-60, *Routhemilne* 1230, *Rugesmolyn* 1299, *Rouchemolyn* 1344 Br.Mus.; in Norton Disney, or Bassingham.[2]

Rodewelle Yo. DoB.; *Rothewell* 1226 Cal. Rot. Ch., Tax. eccl., 1334 f., 1401 Pat. R., 1348 Cl. R., 1378 Poll-tax; *Rowelle* 1280 Wickwane's Reg.; *Rouell* No. vill.; *Rothwell* 1318 N. Reg.; *Routhewell* 1319 Cl. R.; now Rothwell.[3]

Rodowelle, *Rodewelle* Li. DoB.; *Rodewella* Surv. 1118; *Rodewelle* c. 1150 f. Br.Mus.; *Rowella* c. 1165 f. Br.Mus., 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Rothewelle* 1156 Br.Mus., a. 1180 Whitby Ch.; *Rothewell* 1287 C. Inq., Tax. eccl., 1395 Li. wills,[1] 1335 f., 1405 Pat. R.; *Rou-, Rowelle* Rot. Hug.; *Routhewell, Routhwel* Rot. H.; *Rouwelle* 1272-1307 Br.Mus.; *Rothwell* 1491 C. Inq.; now Rothwell.[3]

Rothewelle North. a. 1076 Geld-roll (Vict. Hist. North.); *Rodewelle* DoB.; *Rowell* Surv. Hen. I.; *Rouwelle* 1210-12 Liber rub.; *Rowell* 1208 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1285 Chr. Petrob., 1290 Ch. R.; *Rothewell* 1285 Chr. Petrob., No. vill., 1344 Lanc. Priv. deeds, 1353 f., 1406 f. Pat. R., 1496 C. Inq., &c.; *Routhwell* 1422 Cal. Inq.; *Rowell* 1496 C. Inq.; now Rothwell.[3]

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[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *mershe* (< O.E. *mersc*) 'a marsh', sporadically exchanged for the synonomous M.E. *mareis,* both ultimately from the same source; cf. marish in N.E.D., and above p. 158 n. 1. The *-sk* of the form *-mersk* in Plac. Warr. depends on Scand. sound-substitution. Cf. the place-name *Mersc, Mersche* Yo. DoB., *Mersc* 12. cent. Guisbrough Ch., but *Mersk* 1239 f. ibid., *Marske* Kirkby &c.; now Marske, in Langbargh wap. Of the same origin is Marske in Gilling wap.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *mylna* (O.Dan. *mølnæ*) 'a mill', or the native equivalent M.E. *milne* (O.E. *mylen*). In the last two spellings of the place-name this original element has been replaced by O.French *molin,* the present moulin.

[3] 2nd mem. is M.E. *welle* 'a spring, fount', N.E. well. On the hills among which stands the village of Rothwell, Li., appears conspicuously the band of red chalk which is said to stretch from Norfolk through Lincolnshire into Yorkshire. See STREATFEILD, p. 161.

Roudha Yo. 1235-55 Cockers. Ch.; the river Rawthey.[1]
Routhegates Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Kirkleatham.[2]
Routhland Cumb. 1458, 1461 Cal. Inq.; in Rickerby?[3]
Routhemer Wm. 1282 C. Inq.; a fishery in Grasmere par.[4]
Ranthemire Yo. 12. cent. Newburgh ch., Mon. VI, 1; near Bagby.[5]
Routhenges Li. 12. cent. Ormesby ch., Mon. VI,2; near Grimsby.[6]
Rauthepethe, *Raudepade* 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; near Hemsley.[7]
Rautstain *[rupem]* Yo. 12. cent. Newburgh ch., Mon. VI, 1; near Bagby.[8]

Rozebi, *Roscebi* Yo. DoB.; *Roucebi* a. 1180, *Raucebi* c. 1146 (Papal confirm.), *Rouceby* 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Rouesby, Rouseby* Kirkby; *Rauceby, Rouesbi* 12. cent., *Rouceby, Rauceby* 13. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Rouceby* 1301 Yo. Subs., No. vill., 1325 Whitby Ch., 1346, 1425 Pat. R.; *Rotseby* 1311, *Rowceby* 1396 Whitby Ch.; *Rousceby* 1339 Pat. R.; now Rousby or Roxby.

1st mem. is genitive of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Rauðr* (La., etc.; O.Swed. *Rødher*, O.Dan. *Røth*), developed from the surname *Rauðr* 'the red', which was very common (see F. Jónsson, Tilnavne).[9] In the place-name before us the *ð* was apt to be assimilated with the *s* of the genitive ending (cf. Kluge in

[1] 2nd mem. is O.Scand. *á* 'a stream'. Some exact parallels to this name are found in Norway (see Rygh, Elvenavne, p. 186), and in Iceland; *Rávðár* (gen.) La., *Rauðá* Kålund. Compare OHG. *Rotaha* Förstemann, Ortsnamen).

[2] 2nd mem. seems to be plur. of the M.E. secondary form *gat* (O.E. *ȝeat*), N.E. gate. Hardly from M.E. *gate* < O.W.Scand. *gata* 'way, road'.

[3] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *land* 'land'. Cf. in Norway *Raudalande* E.J.

[4] 2nd mem. is M.E. *mere* 'a sheet of standing water, a lake, pond, marsh, fen'. N.E. dial. *mere*, in current use esp. in northern dialects.

[5] Obviously miswritten for *Rauthe-*. 2nd mem. is M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* 'a moor, bog, swamp'. It is possible that this name and one or two of those above contain the O.W.Scand. subst. *rauði* 'bogiron-ore', which word occurs in a few O.Norw. place-names.

[6] 2nd mem. is O.Scand. *eng* 'meadow'.

[7] 2nd mem. M.E. *paþ* (O.E. *pæþ*) 'a path'.

[8] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *steinn* 'stone'. Cf. the place-name *Stein* etc., p. 82.

[9] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. — It seems that the same etymology is to be assumed for the now lost name *Rozebi* Yo. DoB., *Rowcesby, Rouceby* Kirkby, *Roucesby* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., *Rouceby* 1314 C. Inq.; the place indicated is located by Skaife, in his ed. of Kirk-

Paul's Gr. p. 1007), yet the preponderating, obviously phonetic spellings with *z, c, ts* show that *ðs* followed O.W.Scand. sound-development (cf. above p. 28, under Braceby) and had early passed into *ts*. — Björkman (Personennamen) gives some M.E. instances of *Rauðr*. It enters into a few O.Norw. place-names, e. g. *Raudznes, j Raudzþorpe* E.J.

Sourer Lanc. 1336, 1400 Furness Ch.; now lost. Near Hawkshead.

From O.W.Scand. *saurar,* nom. plur. of *saurr* 'mud, dirt; excrements' (O.Swed. *sör,* O.Dan. *sør*), which word was frequently used — when simplex, in the plural — in place-names to design swampy soil. This is well illustrated by the comment in La. on the settling of *Steinólfr*, who built a farm and called it *Saurbœ, þui at þar var myrlent miok.* Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *af Saurum* B.J., and the Icelandic *Saurar* (Kålund). In England the word is found in M.E. as *sowre, soore,* and in N.E. dial. as *saur* 'liquid manure, dirt, black mud, soil', known only from some northern counties, esp. Yo. — O.W.Scand. *saurr* occurs, besides, in the following M.E. place-names:

Soreby Cumb. c. 1175 Wetherhal Reg., 1238 Pat. R.; *Soureby* 1180 H. Pipe R., Plac. Warr., 1314 f. Cl. R., 1331 Rot. Orig.; *Sourebi* 1184 f., *Kyrkesaurebi* 1191, *Saurebi* 1197 Pipe R., V.H.; *Sourebi* 1232 Cl. R., 1237 f. Pat. R., 1252 Ch. R., Tax. eccl., 1292 etc. Cal. Inq.; *Scoureby* 1242 Ch. R.; *Suoreby* 1321 Cl. R.; *Castel soureby* 1318 Rot. Orig.; *Sourby* 1362 Test. Karl.; *Castelsoureby* 1397 Pat. R.; now Castle Sowerby.[1]

Soureby Wm. 1308 Pat. R.; *Templesoureby* 1314 Cl. R.; *Temple Sourby, Soureby* 1329 C. Inq.; *Temple Soureby* 1344 f. Pat. R.; *Tempil Soureby* 1345 Cl. R., 1389 Cal. Inq.; *Sourby* 1357 f., *Sowreby* 1380 Test. Karl.; now Temple Sowerby.

Sourebi Wm. 1177-78 Pipe R.; *Soureby* 1314 Cal. Inq., 1345 Cl. R.; *Sourby by Burgh* 1327 C. Inq.; *Soureby Burgh* 1340 Cl.

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by's inquest for Yo., about one mile west of Thornton Dale. Of the same origin perhaps is the 1st mem. of *Roucegrift* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; near Ugthorpe. On the 2nd mem. *grift* cf. above p. 90 under *Stayngruft.*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Many places in Norway were called *Saurby,* see E.J. and N.G. Cf. also the above-mentioned Icelandic *Saurbœ* La.

R.; *Soureby by Burgh* 1344 Pat. R.; *Souresby under Burgh* 1345 Cl. R.; etc.; now Brough Sowerby.

Sorebi Yo. DoB.; *Saureby juxta Tresk* 13. cent. Malton Reg., Mon. VI 2; *Sourebi* LVD.; *Soureby* 1247 f. Ch. R., Kirkby, Rot. H., Plac. Warr., 1301 Yo. inq., Yo. Subs., No. vill.; *Sourby* 1361 Rot. Orig.; *Soureby Milne* 1402 Pat. R.; now Sowerby, near Thirsk.

Sorebi Yo. DoB.; *Soureby* 1302 Pat. R., 1315 A.Plac., No. vill., 1326 Cl. R., 1327 C. Inq.; *Souresby* 1326 Cl. R.; *Sourby* date uncertain Cat.A.D., 1401 Cal. Inq.; *Soureby Bryggc* 1478 f., *Soreby* 1485 Pat. R.; now Sowerby Bridge, in Halifax.

Sourebi Yo. a. 1180, *Saurebi* c. 1150 f., *Soureby* 1282, 1354 Whitby Ch.; supposed to be ident. with the present Sneaton Thorpe, see Whitby Ch. p. 398 n.

Sourebi Yo. DoB.; *Suleby sub Koteclyf* Kirkby; *Sureby et Herteleclif* No. vill.; now Sowerby-under-Cotcliffe.

Souresby Yo. 1242 Guisbrough Ch.; now represented by Sowerby Bogs, not far from Glaisdale.[1]

Sourebyshire Yo. 1331 Rot. Orig., 1346 Pat. R.; *Sourebishire* 1334 f., *Saurebyshire* 1347 f., *Sourbeschier, Sawrbysshire* 1405, *Souresbishire* 1335, 1477, *Sourbyshire* 1480 Pat. R.; belongs to Sowerby in Halifax.

Sourgryff Yo. 14. cent. Whitby Ch.[2]

Sourmyre Yo. 1458 Cal. Inq.; near Fearby, or Ellington.[3]

Saurestal Cumb. 1208 Ped. fin.[4]

Saurchales Lanc. 13. cent. (?) Furness Ch.; near Angerton.[5]

Sourthwayt Wm. 1360 Rot. Orig.; *Sourewathe* 1389 Cal. Inq.; in Mallerstang forest.[6]

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[1] On 2nd mem. see p. 162 n. 1.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *grif* 'a hole, pit, cavity'. On its etymology see p. 85, under Stonegrave.

[3] 2nd mem. is M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* 'moor, bog, swamp'; see further in Ch. 6.

[4] 2nd mem. looks like O.W.Scand. *stallr* 'a stall, stable' = O.E. *steall*.

[5] The Editor of the Furness Ch. emends to *Saurschales*, which seems reasonable, 2nd mem. being, then, O.W.Scand. *skáli* 'a hut, shed'; cf. Gatesgill, p. 52, and in Ch. 5.

[6] On the 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *þveit*, see above p. 96 f. 1st mem. can here represent also O.W.Scand. *súrr*, or M.E. *sūr* 'sour'; cf. above p. 34 n. 9.

Saustorp Li. 1175-76 Pipe R.; *Sauztorp* 1189 H. Pipe R.; 1193 Feet of fines, 1193 Li. rec.; *Sautorp* 1196, *Sauthorp* 1234 Li. rec.; *Saucetorp* Rot. Hug.; *Sauzthorp* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Sauzsthorp, Sauztorp, Sausthorp* T.N.; *Saucethorp* 1286 York Hist.; *Sausthorp* 1272 Assize R.,[1] 1303 F.A., 1330 C. Inq., 1331 Cl. R., 1360 etc. Cat.A.D., 1431 F.A.; *Sauetsthorpe, Sallistorpe, Sauz-, Saztorp* 1338 Pat. R.; *Sauzethorp* 1352 Cal. Inq.; *Sauxsethorp* 1346, 1428, *Sauxthorp* 1428 F.A.; *Sawsethorp* 1436 Cat.A.D.; *Saucethorp* 1489 Cal. inq. Lanc.; now Sausthorpe.

1st mem. is gen. sing. of O.W.Scand. *sauðr* 'a sheep' (O.Swed. *söþer*; the word seems to be etymologically identical with Goth. *sauþs* 'a sacrifice'), which is also recorded as a surname (Kahle, Altwestnord. Beinamen); it may have been so here.[2] It is found in the Orrmulum as *sowwþ*. On the development of the sound combination *ðs* in this place-name, compare p. 161 under Roxby.

Scroutebi Norf. C.S. 1017, *Scroutebey, Scroutebei, Scroteby* DoB.; *Scroteby* 1218, *Scrouteby* 1234 Cal. fin.; *Scrouteby, Scrutebi* 1285 C. Inq.; *Scrouceby* Rot. H., Tax. eccl.; *Scrouteby* Rot. H., 1300 f. Br.Mus., 1302 f., 1428 F.A., 1303 Cal. Inq., 1318 Pat. R., 1323 Cl. R., 1331 C. Inq., 1334 Norf. Ass., 1346 Norf. Aid, 1422 Cat.A.D.; *Skrouteby* 1315 Cat.A.D., 1372 Br.Mus.; *Scrowteby* 1329 C. Inq.; *Skrowteby, Scrowtby* 1401 F.A.; *Scroweteby* 1465 Pat. R.; now Scratby, in Ormesby St. Margaret's.

Explained by Munford from 'the Scand. personal name Scroti, Scrot, which occurs previous to the Conquest, in Domesday'. But the numerous spellings *Scroute-* above cannot represent the name *Scroti* (I cannot find the form *Scrot* in DoB.), the Scand. origin of which is, besides, questionable. I think the 1st mem. is a genitive **Skrauta* from the O.W.Scand. surname *Skrauti* (given by F. Jónsson, Tilnavne), which meant a showy, magnificent person, a person fond of display. The word is derived from the same base as O.W.Scand. *skraut* (Norw. dial. *skraut*) 'ornament, show, display, spendour'; cf. the O.Norw. place-name *Skrautuale* D.N. 2 (1336), commented on in N.G. IV 2, p. 254, and the Icelandic *skrautbygging, skrauthús, skrauthöll* (Thorkelsson, Supplement til isl. Ordbøger III) 'a magnificent building'. To re-

[1] See Extract in Associated Archit. Societies, Reports & Papers, XXII p. 172.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

gard *Scrouteby* as an analogous compound with *skraut* is, for formal reasons, not admissible.[1]

Staupe Yo. t. Hen. I., *Stoupe* e. 12. cent. f., *Stowpe* 1395, *Stoope, Stowpe Browe* 1540 Whitby Ch.; now Stoupe Brow, hamlet and cliff in Whitby par.

From O.W.Scand. *staup* in the sense of 'a steep declivity or slope, a pitch, precipice'. Stoupe Brow is a cliff, according to Bartholomew's Gazetteer 893 ft. high, which towers aloft over the shore at Robin Hood's Bay, and commands a magnificent view. The word *staup* in the sense just mentioned is only evidenced from Norw. place-names; see e. g. N.G. V, 444 and XV, 87. It is related by ablaut to the rare verb *stúpa* 'to stoop', O.Swed. *stupa* 'to fall, tumble headlong'. The primary sense of *staup* may have been that of a depression or hollow where one is apt to tumble down; cf. the allied O.E. adj. *stēap* 'high, lofty', N.E. steep. In Shetlandic local names *staup* is applied to a track beaten by the feet of cattle (Jakobsen); cf. Norw. dial. *staup* 'a hole in a road, deep rut, cup, goblet', O.E. *stēap* 'a cup, flagon', OHG., MHG. *stouf* 'Becher, Felsen' (Schade), German Stauff, Stauffen, as names of mountains (see Schmeller, Bayerisches Wörterbuch). Whether N.E. dial. *stoup* 'a deep and narrow vessel for holding liquids, pail for water', etc., is of Scand. introduction, is uncertain. Its local distribution — only in some northern counties and e. Angl. — is in favour of it. On M.E. *stope* see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 78, with references.

Wadles Yo. DoB.; *Watlos'* (2×) 1208 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Watlaus* 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; *Thorneton Watlous* 1269 C. Inq.; *Watlous* Kirkby, 1286 Richmond Reg., Tax. eccl., No. vill., 1392 Pat. R.; *Wathlous, Watlos* St. Andrew's ch.; *Thorneton Watlous* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Watlans* 1340 Cal. Inq.; *Watlows, -lous* 1424, *Watlowes, -lows* 1439 Pat. R.; *Watlos* 1435, *-lowes* 1437, *-lous* 1367, 1475 Cal. Inq.; now part of Thornton Watlass.

The preserved spellings of this name seem to represent the O.W.Scand. adj. *vatnlauss*, 'waterless', with the regular loss of the interconsonantic *n*. But it is more than probable that the pre-li-

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

terary form was somewhat different, and that this was a counterpart of the O.W.Scand. place-name *at Vatnlausu* La., in Iceland. The latter is composed of *vatn* 'water' and the weak fem. *lausa* 'lack, want', which is recorded only as 2nd member in a number of place-names (cf. Rygh, N.G.). Now the spelling of the name in Domesday is utterly corrupt and, taken by itself, unintelligible. But the next form contains a final vowel, represented in the record by a character, which, in the early 13th century charter-hand of the feet of fines, can denote either of the two vowels *a* and *e*. In the course of the same century the earlier shape of the name was modified, insofar as the final *-e* was liable to be gradually lost during that period. It then coincided with the O.W.Scand. adj. *vat[n]lauss* and was attached to the name of the neighbouring township of Thornton, for the purpose of marking it out from the many other places of the same name in the county. Compare Willoughby Waterless in Le. The ancient vill of *Watlous* was merged in Thornton W. as it seems long after the latter had borrowed its name, and the modern (Philips') map retains, apart from Thornton Watlass, only the name Watlass Moor. The M.E. surname *Watlows*, &c. mentioned by Björkman, Personennamen, p. 172, is identical with the name just discussed.

Ch. 5. Names containing O.Scand. ā.

O.Scand. *ā*, originating from different sources, occurs in a great number of M.E. place-names. In some cases it is an unmistakeable phonetic test of loan, inasmuch as the O.E. language on the corresponding point shows an altogether diverging sound-development; in others it represents no such direct test, but the word in which it stands betrays the Scand. origin of its *ā*-vowel in some other way. The material given below may be briefly summed up under the following heads:[1]

1) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut *ǣ* (W.Teut. *ā*); O.E. *ē*, *ǣ*. See below *Farford* p. 179 (possibly), *Lauescales* p. 194, *Nathwait* p. 188, *Scales* &c. pp. 189-95, *Smatuaites* p. 196.

[1] A fairly large number of early English place-names present words containing O.Scand. *ă* (Teut. *ă*, O.E. *æ* , *ĕ*), but with two exceptions (*Aghemundernes* see p. 1, *Anlafestun*, *æt Anlafestune* North. C.S. 1128, 1130 resp. (c. 980), now lost; near Kettering?) they are not recorded

2) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut. *ă+n* before *k* (after syncope of an interconsonantic vowel), *l*, and *s*, through loss of the nasal and compensatory lengthening of *ă* > *ā*. See below *Achebi* &c. p. 168, *Alabei* &c. p. 168, *Astorp* &c. pp. 169-76, *Wra* &c. p. 197 &c. — In O.E., Teut. *ans* is represented by *ōs*; as to *ă* in the other positions just mentioned it appears as *ŏ*, *ă*.

3) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut. *ă* before *ht* (and *hl?*) through loss of *h* and compensatory lengthening of *ă* > *ā*. O.E. *ea*, &c. See *Nadfartone* p. 187 (and the uncertain *Stalethweit* p. 197).

4) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut *ăẖ* + vowel; O.E. (as a rule) *ēa*. See *Abi*, &c. p. 168, and *Arusum* p. 169.

5) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut. *ā* (W.Teut. *ā*) in the combination *ān;* O.E. *ōn*. See *Spanebi* p. 196.

6) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut. *au* (secondary development); O.E. *ēa*. See *Haburne* &c. p. 180 f.

7) O.Scand. *ā* < Teut. *ăwa;* O.E. *ēa*. See *Strathwait* p. 197.

8) O.Scand. *ā* answering to Latin *au*, and O.E. *aw*. See *Kalegarth* &c. p. 183.

9) In several cases O.Scand. *ā* is no criterion of loan, properly speaking, but the word in its recorded form, with the development it presupposes, seems not to have existed in England but to have been introduced there by the Scandinavians. See *Anisthwaith* p. 169, *Bladi* &c. pp. 176-79, *Grarigg* &c. p. 180, *Cauuda* &c. pp. 184-85, *Crachele* &c. pp. 185-87, *Rabie* &c. p. 188 f.

We now proceed to the material:

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until the M.E. period when the native O.E. *æ* had passed into *a* in the dialects concerned. The *a*-vowel of these names thus affords, as a rule, no phonetic evidence for their Scand. origin. It is true that in a few cases they are composed with pers. names which appear already in O.E. (such as *Farmanesbi* Yo. DoB., *Faremannebi* Cumb. 1189 H. Pipe R. from O.W.Scand. *Farmann* &c.; *Haldanby* Yo. No. vill. from O.W.Scand. *Halfdan; Raghenildetorp'* Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb. from O.W.Scand. *Ragnhildr; Ravenser* Yo. see p. 133; &c.), and by their *a* found at that date prove themselves to be Scand., though not all of them are beyond dispute in this respect. The M.E. place-name compounds of this kind accordingly present, indirectly, a criterion of Scand. loan. But as the cases in question are comparatively few in number I have judged it best to deal with them only in connection with all the other names that apparently contain O.Scand. *ă* in the non-phonetical part of the present work.

Abi Li. DoB., c. 1150 f. Br.Mus., 1154-58 (Inspex. 1314) Ch.R.; *Haby* 1254 Pat.R., t. Edw. I. Br.Mus.; *Aby* 1226 Li. rec., 1251 Ch.R., Rot.H., T.N., Tax. eccl., 1303 f., 1428 F.A., 1465 f. Pat.R., &c.; now Aby.

1st. mem. is from O.Scand. *á* (for normal *ǫ́* < **ahwu*, the *á* being due to influence from the inflected forms in which it was regular, see Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 74,2) 'a stream or river.' The village of Aby stands on a stream. In Norway there were in ancient times several places called *Aby* (E.J., &c.); the same name occurs in Denmark according to LCD., and in Sweden (Styffe). The M.E. equivalent to *á* was *ē*, *ǣ* (< O.E. *ēa*, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gram. § 111,2; for certain restrictions Kluge in Paul's Gr. I § 93). On the M.E. appellative *ā* found in a 15. century Saltfleetby MS. and apparently Scand. loan, see Björkman, Loan-words p. 102. Saltfleetby is situated some miles NE. of Aby.[1] — O.Scand. *á* enters further into the two river-names *Braitha* (see p. 27) and *Roudha* (p. 161); cf. also *Arusum* p. 169.

Achebi Yo. DoB.; now disappeared? Near Well or Masham.

Considering the quality of the 2nd mem., the 1st mem. may be from the O.E.Scand. man's name *Aki*, *Ake*, O.W.Scand. *Áki*, corresponding to OHG. *Anihho*, see Wimmer, and Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 289, 1.[1] It is possible that in the same way are to be explained *Akethorp* Suff. Rot.H. (answering to O.Norw *Akaþorp* E.J.) and some other M.E. place-names beginning with *Ake-* (cf. Björkman, Personennamen under *Aki*). But as nothing disproves the possibility that such names embody, instead, some form of O.E. *āc* 'oak', which was demonstrably of frequent occurrence in the place-nomenclature, it would serve no purpose to enter at length upon them. Cf. also *Akescales* Yo., and *Akewra* Li., below pp. 192 and 199 resp.

Alabei, *Alebei* Norf. DoB.; *Aleby* 1269 C. Inq., Plac. Warr., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., 1316 F.A., &c.; *Alebi* Rot. H.; now Alby.

1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Áli*, O.Swed. *Ale* (OHG. *Analo*); the originally short stem-vowel has undergone compensatory lengthening after the loss of the nasal before *l*; on this see Noreen, Altisl. Gram. §§ 118, 289, 2. The name occurs

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

in several O.Norw. place-names (see LIND); with it has been identified the O.E. *Ale* and, possibly, *Ala* in DoB. (BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen p. 2).[2] It seems further to enter into

Alebi Li. DoB.; *Aleby* T.N., 1311 C. Inq.; *Alibi, Aliby* 1303, *Alibi* 1428 F.A.; now Ailby, in Rigsby.[2]

Aletorp Li. DoB., 1294 Ch. R.; *Aletorp'* 1178-79 Pipe R.; now Althorpe.[1]

Alatorp Norf. DoB.; *Aletorp* 1179-80 f. Pipe R.; *Alethorp'*, *Aletorp* Rot. H.; now Althorpe.[1]

[**Anisthwaith** Cumb. (see p. 102), perhaps from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Án[n]* < **Aðwunn;* see NOREEN in Uppsalastudier p. 196.]

Arusum Yo. 12th, 13th cent. (passim) Guisbrough Ch.; *Aresum, Arsum* ib., Kirkby; *Aresome* 1366 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Aresom* 1398 Cal. Inq.; *Arsome* 1419 ib.; now Ayresome, near Middlesbrough.

Dative plur. of the O.W.Scand. appellative *árhúsar* 'buildings erected by the river-side', which word is made up of *ár*, gen. sing. of *á* 'a stream or river', and a feminine plural of *hús* 'house'. The compound is recorded as a place-name also on O.Norw. territory, e. g. *at Arhusum* BK.; cf. in Denmark: *Arus* LCD. According to PHILIPS' map the present Ayresome is near a small stream, not far from its effluence into the river Tees. — The reference to this name that ought to have been given in Ch. 1 has been inadvertently omitted. Cf. *Aby*, p. 168.

Astorp Li. Surv. 1118, t. Rich. I. Br.Mus., T.N.; *Astthorp* 1303 F.A.; *Asthorp* T.N., 1316, 1428 F.A.; *Asthorpe* 1382 Br.Mus.; *Asthorp, Aystorp* 1426 Pat. R.; *Aysthorp* 1431 F.A.; now Aisthorpe.

1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *áss* (< **ansa-;* O.Swed. *as*, e. Dan. *aass*) 'a mountain ridge, a ridge of elevation, eminence'. As far as can be made out from PHILIPS' map, Aisthorpe lies on a slope among the Lincoln Heights.[1]

Asebi, *Aseby* Li. DoB.; *Asebi* 1125-28 L. Niger S.P.; *Aseby* 1234 Li. rec., 1401 F.A.; now Aisby, in Corringham.

Judging by the map the 1st mem. is the same as in preceding name; we should then have to postulate a ground-form **Ása-býr.*[2]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

Aseby Li. DoB.; *Hase-, Hascebia,* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Aseby* ib., T.N., 1316 f. F.A., 1475 Pat. R.; *Asebi* 1303 F.A.; *Aesby* 1528, *Aysby* 1563 f. Br.Mus.; now Aisby, in Haydor.

1st mem. is probably from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ási*, O.E.Scand. *Ase*, which is recorded in DoB. as *Asi*. Or perhaps from the corresponding female name *Ása* (*Asa* in DoB., see Björkman, Personennamen, p. 9); both these names are to be connected with O.W.Scand *áss* 'a god', for which word see further under the names beginning with *As-* below, and the next name.[1]

Asebi Yo. DoB.; *Eseby* Plac. Warr., Kirkby, No. vill., &c.; now Easby.

According to the spelling in DoB. the 1st mem. may originally have been from either the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ási*, or the feminine *Ása* (see prec. name), which was exchanged, later on, for the collateral form represented by O.Dan. *Esi*, resp. *Esa*, O.W.Scand. *Æsa*, *Esa* (see Lind under *Ása*). One of the last-mentioned names seems, in fact, to enter into another place-name in the same county, viz. *Esebi* Yo. DoB., *Esby* Kirkby, *Eseby* No. vill. &c., now Easby (in Stokesley); perhaps also into *Esby* Cumb. 1383 Cal. Inq., *Eseby* 1485 C. Inq.; now Easby.[1]

Asadala, *Asedala* Yo. 12. cent., *Asedal* 1239 Guisbrough Ch.; now Aysdale Gate, near Guisbrough.

1st mem. is either gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ási* (see prec. name), or gen. plur. of O.W.Scand. *áss* 'mountain ridge', for which compare above under Aisthorpe.[2]

Aswicktoftine Li. see in Ch. 7.

[Astthetwayt Wm. see above p. 102.][3]

Asfordeby Li. T.N., 1303 f. F.A.; *Asfordby* T.N., 1303 f. 1428 f. F.A.; *Asffordeby* 1303 F.A.; *Assefordby* T.N.; *Asserby* 1428 F.A.; now Asserby, in Bilsby.

1st mem. is the Anglo-Scand. man's name *Asford* which occurs in the Domesday entries for Li. Nott and Yo., besides as *Asfort* in that for the latter county, to which, indeed, most of the

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Bartindale, p. 4.

[3] To what has been said on this name p. 102 n. 7 may be added that the 1st mem. may explained as well from the common O.W.Scand. man's name *Ásti* (O.Swed. *Aste*) or the corresponding feminine *Ásta*.

instances belong.[1] This is a variant of the name *Asfrið, Asferð, Asferd*, which is found on O.E. coins of the 10th and 11th centuries, and is derived by Björkman, Personennamen p. 11 f., from an O.Scand. **Ásfriðr*. But the metathetic forms, *Asferð* &c., must have originated in England, since no similar instance is recorded in O.Scand. literature. And of native English origin is, moreover, the remarkable *o*-vowel in the Domesday form *Asford*, which in consideration of its frequency, in the simple name and in place-names (cf. below), cannot be put down to erroneous spelling. The native equivalent of this name appears in Domesday as *Osfordus, Osfort* (Norf.) and *Osfertus* (Suff. 3×). The latter form in particular carries us back to the O.E. period, in the charters of which we find a good many instances of the name *Osferð*, obviously arisen out of *Osfreð*, a phonetic variant of the common *Osfrith*. The *e*-vowel in the metathetic *Osferð* seems on Anglian territory to have been liable to fracture (for analogous cases see Bülbring in Anglia Beibl. IX, 97 and Altengl. Elementarbuch I § 132 Anm.), which gave rise to a form **Osfeorð*, whereupon the originally falling diphthong *eo̯* passed into the rising *e̯o* and was simplified to *ŏ* in *Osforð*. With regard to this process of accent-shifting and monophthongization compare the materials given by Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch §§ 325-33. A development along such lines is, in fact, intimated by some spellings found in an O.E. late 10th century record relating to Medeshamstede (Peterborough Abbey) in Northamptonshire and printed by Gray Birch, C.S. 1130. It contains the forms *Osferð* (passim) and *Osford*; further *Þurferð* (passim), *Þurfeorð* and *Þurforð [Rolfes sune]*, evidently variants of **Þurfreð* < **ÞurfreðuR*, which again according to Björkman (Personennamen p. 156) is the ground-form of O.W.Scand. *Þorrøðr*. In the same way are to be explained *Asforth* and *Þorforð*, which are stated by Björkman (o. c. pp. 10‘ 155) to occur on O.E. coins, and **Wiford* in the place-name *Wivordebie* Le. DoB., *Wyfordebia* 1124 Le. Survey, now Wyfordby. The 1st member of the latter is from the O.E. man's name *Wigfrith, Wigferth*. Here should be noticed, too, the name of the present Hamfordshoe hundred in North., of which DoB. has the curiously corrupt spellings *Andferdesho* (2×), *Anvesdesov*, and *Hanverdesho;* it contains the O.E. man's name *Eanfrið, Ean-*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

firdus, Anfred, Eanferþ, all these forms being found in C.S. (cf. the place-name *eanferþes hlau* C.S. 945 (A.D. 956). But the North. survey of Henry I. writes *Anfordesho*, representing the variant **Anford*, which in part survives in the modern name of the hundred. The examples now adduced may suffice to illustrate the sound-development in question. As was observed above, it seems to have been confined to Anglian territory.

A noteworthy interchange of the O.E. *Osferð*, and the Anglo-Scand. *Asford, *Esford* (see below), is presented by the 1st member in the place-name

Osferdebie, *Esseberie* Le. DoB.; *Asfordebia* 1124 Le. Survey; *Esfordebi* 1190-1204 Br.Mus.; *A Fordeby* 1327 Le. Subs. R.; *Asfordeby* 1409 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; *Asshefordeby* 1412 Pat. R.; now Asfordby, or Ashfordby.

It still remains to add a few remarks on the man's name *Asford*. The former element is here the same word as O.W.Scand. *áss, óss* < **ansuR* 'a god', = O.E. *ōs*. This was a most common name element in the Teutonic languages, as may be seen from the plentiful material compiled in Förstemann. Side by side there existed in composition two divergent stems **Ansu-* and **Ansi-*, which are both found in OHG. names. In O.Scand. the word appears in the same position as *As-* in a considerable number of names, of which O.E. equivalents with *Os-* are frequently evidenced. Besides, there occurs in O.Scand. a collateral form with *i*-mutation *Es-*, in O.W.Scand. sporadically alternating with *As-* in spellings of one and the same name, but in especially frequent use in the O.E.Scand. languages; see Nielsen, and Lundgren, Språkl. intyg om hednisk gudatro i Sverige p. 13 f., and Spår af hednisk tro och kult i Fornsvenska personnamn p. 3 f. It is possible that the above-mentioned M.E. *Esfordebi* (by the side of *Asfordebia*) contains this O.E.Scand. stem *Es-*, although it is true such a form of the name is not evidenced elsewhere. But the O.Dan. man's name *Æsbiorn, Esbern*, which is recorded in Kemble's C.D. and in DoB. as *Esbern, Esbernus*, surely enters into the place-name *Esbernebi* Li. DoB.; apart from this early spelling, there are only anglicized forms on record: *Osberneby* 1225 Li rec., T.N., 1316 F.A., *Osbernby* 1257 Ch. R., 1303 f. F.A., 1446 Br.Mus., *Osburneby* 1505 Br.Mus.; now Osbournby. And *Esegerbrigge* Yo. 1343 Ripon Mem., now Esgelbrig in Ripon, seems to be from the O.Dan. man's name *Esger* (O.W.Scand. *Ásgeirr*, O.Swed.

Asger, O.E. *Ōsgār*), which occurs also in O.E. charters. As for further information about the O.Scand. pers. names of the present kind which are found in M.E. see Björkman, Personennamen. In addition thereto the following M.E. place-name material is to be noted:

Ansgotesbi Yo. &c., *Osgodtorp* Le. &c. see above p. 138 f.

Asgerebi Li., *Asgarsthorp*, *Asgcreshill* Norf., see above p. 23.

Aschilebi Yo. DoB.; *Eskilby* 1198 Ped. fin. Eb., 1370 Cat.A.D.; *Askelby* 13. cent. FPD., Kirkby, No. vill., 1338 Pat. R.; *Eskelby* 1299 Cal. Rot. Ch., 1367 Cat.A.D., 1335, 1412 Pat. R.; *Askilby* 1348 f. Pat. R.; *Askylby* 1404 Cal. inq. da., 1465 Pat. R.; now Asselby.

From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Áskell* (< *Ásketill*), *Eskell*, O.Swed. *Æskil*, O.Dan. *Eskill*.[1] Recorded in place-names, e. g. *J Askiælsrudi* E.J., *j Æskælsrude* D.N. 9 (1438). On the interchange of *As-*, *Es-*, see above. The name had a wide diffusion in England in O.E. and M.E. times, and was one of the most usual Scand. names there; a survey of the various forms *Askytel*, *Askil*, *Æskitil*, *Eskil*, in which it appears in this country then, is given by Björkman, Personennamen p. 16 f.[2] It enters, moreover, into

Aschilebi Yo. DoB.; *Eskelby* Rot. H., 1293 Ch. R., No. vill., Ripon Mem.; *Estkilby* Kirkby; *Exylby* 1468 Pat. R; etc.; now Exelby, in Burneston.[1]

Askeldic, *Askeledic* Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; near Old Byland.[3]

Asketelhage [*nemus*] Li. 1189 Vaudey ch., Mon. V. Near Edenham?[4]

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[2] The Domesday forms *Escule* and *Escul*, mentioned ib. p. 20 as possibly representing Scand. *Eskil*, or, rather, O.E. *Æscwulf*, I should prefer to consider as Normanized forms with prothetic *e-* of the common O.E., M.E. *Scule* < O.Scand. *Skúli*. An *e-* of this kind is of frequent occurrence i DoB. and other early M.E. records. Cf. e. g. in the DoB. return for Yorkshire *Esteinton*, *Steintun* (O.W.Scand. *steinn*, see above p. 87), *Estiresbi*, *Stirsbi* (O.E. *Styr* < O.W.Scand. *Styrr*, O.Dan. *Styr*, pers. name); further *Esculthorp* and *Esculeton* Norf. 1228 Pat. R. (from this very O.Scand. *Skúli*), of which otherwise only spellings with initial *Sc-*, *Sk-* are known to me. Now Sculthorpe and Scoulton resp. See also the examples in Zachrisson, p. 55.

[3] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand *dík*, *díki*, O.Swed. *dike*, O.Dan. *diki* 'a dike, ditch', or the equivalent O.E., M.E. *dīc*.

[4] 2nd mem. as in *Algerhage* ib., see above p. 21 n. 3.

Aschilesmares Yo. DoB.; now vanished? Near Ebberston or Brompton, see above p. 158 n. 1.

Ascheltorp, *Aschiltorp; Hascctorp* Yo. DoB.; *Hassethorp* Kirkby; *Hasthorp* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill.; now Haisthorpe.[1]

Aslachebi Li. DoB.; *Aselachesbi* 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Aselakesbi* 1189 H., Pipe R.; *Haslokebi* 1263, *Aselokeby* 1270, *Aslacby* 1282 C. Inq.; *Asladby* Tax. eccl.; *Asclakeby* Rot. H.; *Aslakeby* Rot. H., T.N., 1303 f. F.A., 1364 Cat.A.D.; *Aslockebi* T.N.; *Aselacby* 1303 f. F.A.; *Aslaghby* 1312, *Aselokby* 1346, *Aslagby* 1410 Pat. R.; *Aslakby* 1397 f., 1447 Br.Mus., 1462 f. Pat. R.; now Aslackby.[2]

From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Áslákr* (La., etc.), O.E.Scand. *Aslak*, = O.E. *Oslac*; cf. in Norway *Aslaksrud* E.J., *Aslaksby* Rygh, Personnavne, etc. The name was fairly common in Scand. England: *Aslac* C.D. 728 (1018), DoB., 1229 Guisbrough Ch. &c., *Aslacus, Aseloc* DoB., &c.[3] It further occurs in

Aslachesbi, *Aslachebi* Yo. DoB.; *Aslakeby* 1260 Ch. R., 1261 C. Inq., T.N., 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Aselakeby* 1281 C. Inq., T.N.; *Aslacby* Rot. H., No. vill.; *Aslaeby* Kirkby; &c.; now Aislaby, in Middleton.[3]

Aslackebi, *Eslakebi* Durh. 13. cent. (?), *Aslakeby* 1311 Guisbrough Ch.; *Aslakby* 1324 f. Durh. Account R.; now Aislaby.[3]

Aslachestone, *Aslachetone, -tune* Nott. DoB.; *Aslacton* 1284 &c., 1428 F.A., 1300 Ch. R., T.N., 1340 Pat. R., 1348 f. Cl. R.; *Aslocton* 1291 Ch. R.; now Aslockton.[4]

Aslaketuna, *Aslac-, Oslactuna* Norf. DoB.; *Aslakeston* 1254 Cal. fin.; *Aslaketon* 1263, *Aselaketon* 1270 Ch. R.; *Oslac-, Oselactun* Rot. H.; *Aslacton* Rot. H., 1284 &c., 1428 F.A., 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Aselaghton* 1381 Pat. R.; *Aslakton* Tax. eccl., 1462 Pat. R.; now Aslacton.[4]

Aslakebusk Norf. c. 1200 (?), see Rye's list of field-names in Ped. fin. Norf. Not identifiable.[5]

Aslactoft Li. undated (14th or 15th century?) MS. Cat.A.D. in Over Burnham.[6]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.
[2] Local pronunciation 'Aizleby' (Streatfeild), 'Aselby' (Hope).
[3] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.
[4] On the 2nd mem. see above p. 7 n. 1.
[5] On the 2nd mem. see p. 141 n. 3.
[6] 2nd mem. is M.E. *toft*, for which see beginning of Ch. 7.

Aslacheshou Li. DoB.; *Aslocahou* Surv. 1118; *Aslacheho* 1165-66, *Oselakeshou* 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Aslachow* 1242 Br.Mus.; *Aslachou* Rot. H.; *Aslakhou* Tax. eccl.; *Aselachou* 1316, *Aslokhowe* 1428 F.A.; *Aslakhowe* 1347, 1465 Pat. R., 1431 F.A.; now Aslacoe (Wapentake).[1]

Asmundrebi Yo. &c. see above p. 3 f.

Asuluesby, *Asuluebi* Yo. DoB.; *Asulvebi* a. 1180, *Asolvebi* e. 13. cent. Whitby Ch.; *Ascilbi* 1278 C. Inq.; *Asselby, Haselby* c. 1280 Whitby Ch.; *Asila-, Asillaby* Kirkby; *Aselby* l. 13. cent. Whitby Ch., Rot. H., T.N., No. vill., 1339 f. Pat. R., &c.; *Assulby* 1487 C. Inq.; *Asilby* 1394, *Aslaby, Aislaby* c. 1540 Whitby Ch.; now Aislaby, near Whitby.

From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ásulfr* (La., etc.), O.E.Scand. *Asulf*. It occurs on O.E. coins as *Asulf, Asolf* &c. (see Björkman, Personennamen), and in the Domesday of Yorkshire as *Asulf, Asul*. Very rare in the O.W.Scand. local nomenclature. O.E. *Oswulf*. Compare p. 174 the different origin of the other Yorkshire place-name Aislaby.[2]

Asuuardebi Li. DoB.; *Aswardebi* 1196 &c. Li. rec.; *Asewartheby* Rot. Hug.; *Asewardby* Rot. H., 1316 F.A.; *Aswarde-, Aswarde-, Aswoldeby* T.N.; *Aswardby* Rot. H., 1303 f., 1431 F.A., 1353 Pat. R., 1415 Cat.A.D.; *Aswordeby* 1312 C. Inq.; *Aswardeby* 1328 f. Cat.A.D., 1338 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; *Aswerdby* 1463 Pat. R.; &c.; now Aswardby.

From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ásvarðr*, O.Dan. *Asvarth*.[2] Whether this is represented by the form *Asuert* Li. DoB. (see Björkman, Personennamen p. 21) is very questionable. It enters, besides, into

Asewardby, *Asewarde-, Aswareby* Li. Rot. H.; *Asewordeby* t. Edw. I. Br.Mus.; *Aswardebi, Aswordeby* T.N.; *Aswardeby* 1303, *Asewardeby* 1316, *Aswardby, Assworthby* 1346 F.A.; now Aswarby.[3]

[1] 2nd mem. is apparently M.E. *hou* < O.W.Scand. *haugr* &c, 'a hill, mound, cairn'. Compare, on this word, *Dailderhou* above p. 9, *Scogreineshoues* p. 78, and beginning of Ch. 4, p. 137.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

[3] Local pronunciation of Aswardby and Aswarby: 'Azerby' (Streatfeild). — *Asewaldby* in the Hundred Rolls for Lincolnshire does not represent the present Aswardby, as is maintained by Zachrisson p. 128, but is an erroneous spelling of *Aluoldabi, Aluoldebi* Surv. 1118, *Alwaldeby* No. vill., &c., now Autby. This is from the O.W.Scand.

Aswardetierne Li. DoB.; *Aswardekirne* 1178-79, *Aswardeskyrne* 1179-80 Pipe R.; *Asewardthyrne, Asewardhirn* Rot. H.; *Aswardburn* T.N.; *Aswardhirn* 1316, *Aswardhern* 1401 F.A.; now Aswardhurn (Wapentake).[1]

[Bl̥adi Le. DoB.; *Blabi* 1156 (Inspex. 1318) Ch. R., 1315 C. Inq.; *Blaby* 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch., 1253 Le. rec., 1284 F.A. (ib. *Nicholaus de Bloby*), Tax. eccl., 1301 Yo. inq., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1412 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; now Blaby.

1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *blár*, O.Swed. *blar*, Dan. *blaa* 'blue, dark', lividus. O.E. *blāw* is recorded only in the Erfurt Gloss.; N.E.D. says it did not survive in M.E., where its place was filled by the O.Scand. word, M.E. *blā, blō*, N.E. dial. (only Sc. and north.) *blue*. The Scand. as well as the O.E. word is from a Teutonic base **blæwa*, the *ǣ* of which would regularly be represented before *w* by O.E. *ā*; hence the *ā* of the Scand. word cannot be regarded as a phonetical criterion, strictly speaking. But the form *blā-*, appearing at so early a period in the place-name now under consideration, is undoubtedly Scand., since in composition the native word would most likely have produced a form **blauue-*, according to the orthography of Domesday. In the Scand. inflexion of the word there is no trace of the *w* of the stem, while this is retained in the single instance of the O.E. equivalent, and, moreover, is hardly ever missing in the various cases of other adjectival *wa*-stems; see Sievers, Ags. Gram. § 301. It is in the light of such facts that we have to view the name

Blafelda, *Blauuefelda, Blawefelle, Blasfeuda* Norf. DoB.; *Blafelda* c. 1130 Br.Mus.; *Blafeld* 1197 Cal. fin., 1201 Rot. Canc., 1252 Ch. R., T.N., &c.; *Blofeld* 1285 Cal. fin., 1302 f., 1428 F.A., 1330 C. Inq., 1452 Br.Mus., &c.; now Blofield (parish, village, and hundred).

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man's name *Qlvaldi*, O.Dan. *Alwaldi* (Nielsen); cf. also *Alwaldtoftes* in Ch. 7. The occasional replacing of an original name element by a different one is a constantly recurring phenomenon in M.E. place-name spellings. Sometimes a whole pers. name is changed for another, as, e. g. in the spelling *Aswardesho* North. 1179-80 Pipe R., which is identical with *Anfordesho* Surv. Hen. I. (the present hundred of Hamfordshoe) from O.E. *Eanferþ*. Cf. also above p. 171 f.

[1] The proper form and meaning of the 2nd mem. it is impossible to decide owing to the divergency of the earliest spellings.

DoB. shows us here, side by side with each other, the regular form of the native *blāw* and the shorter Scand. *blā-*.[1] The latter subsequently took precedence and its vowel underwent the usual south English labialization to *blō*. Or are both Scand., and *Blawe-* a remnant of the earliest O.Scand. inflexion (cf. NOREEN, Altisl. Gram. § 78 b)? — To the north of England belong the following names, which may also be looked upon as embodying O.W.Scand. *blár:*

Blabec *[cadit in Wenninga]* Lanc. 1400 Furness Ch.; a small tributary of the river Wenning.[2]

[**Blabec,** *Blacbec* Wm. 1294 Ch. R.; a stream in Kendal.][2]

Blaberthwayt Cumb., see above p. 104.

Blaberimorgate Yo. e. 14. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Loftus.[3]

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[1] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'. — With regard to the differing forms of this word in DoB. some remarks may be desirable in this connection. Of M.E. *fēld* in place-name compounds there occur at least four types in the A.N. orthography of DoB., viz. *feld* (as above Latinized as *felda*), *felt, feud* (*feuda*), and *felle* (rarely *fel*). The first one, *feld,* is, of course, the traditional etymological spelling of the M.E. literary language; *felt* is a modification of the former, occasioned through the influence of the O.French sound-law by which final *d* after a consonant was turned into *t* (for examples see NYROP, Gram. Hist. § 395, BOURCIEZ § 152). And *feud* is a conspicuous A.N. type, showing the O.French vocalization of ante-consonantic *l* which according to NYROP (o. c. § 343) is evidenced already from Latin charters of the 10th cent., and in northern France was probably an accomplished fact towards 1100 (BOURCIEZ § 188, cf. ZACHRISSON p. 149 f., and above p. 154). A.N. is, lastly, *felle* (*fel*), which in my opinion represents an unsuccessful attempt at phonetic spelling. To the Norman scribe of the late 11th or 12th cent. the phonem *eld* must often have sounded unfamiliar in its English pronunciation; he would certainly himself pronounce and preferably write *eud* if not restrained by the traditional written form. An endeavour to render faithfully the foreign word that reached his ear then resulted in a spelling *felle.* In the same way we may have to explain the DoB. spelling *-schel* in *Raschel, Oleschel* Yo. (resp. *Raskelf* and *Ulskelf* in No. vill., now Raskelf and Ulleskelf) which represent M.E. *skelf* < O.W.Scand. *skjalf;* see further these names in Part II, under Scand. *sk.* Cf. also in DoB. the pers. names *Asul, Asulf* (< O.W.Scand. *Ásulfr*), *Torol, Torolf* (O.W.Scand. *Þórolfr*) and several other similar cases. SKEAT (Proverbs of Alfred p. 409) points out in the 'Lay of Havelok the Dane' a few instances of a similar 'loss of final *d* after *l*', which he contents himself with terming an A.N. peculiarity, without entering into any details. Cf. the material in HILDEBRAND, p. 350, 6.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bekkr,* or M.E. *beck* 'a brook, stream'.

[3] This name is made up of late M.E. *blabery* (N.E. dial. *blaeberry;* probably an adaptation of O.W.Scand. *blá-ber,* see above, p. 104

Blaland Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Normanby.[1]

Blalandes Yo. 13. cent. Whitby Ch., *Netherblalandes* Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[1]

Blaland Yo. 12. cent., *Blaland flat* 1446 Whitby Ch.; in Skirpenbeck.[1]

Le Blamire Cumb. 1435, *Blamyre* 1438 Cal. Inq.; not identifiable. Near Torpenhow?[2]

Blapotker Yo. c. 1200 Guisbrough Ch.; in Marton.[3]

Blaterne Wm. 1247 Ch. R.; now Blea Tarn; c. five miles W. of Ambleside.[4]

Blaterne *[hamelet]* Cumb. 1362 f. Cal. Inq., 1380 Test. Karl.; not on PHILIPS' map but must be near Newby or Denton.[4]

Blawad, *Blawat* Yo. 12. cent., *Blawathgile* 1200-01 Rievaulx Ch., now Bloworth? See ib. p. 32 n. 2.[5]

Blawath Yo. e. 13. cent. (passim) Guisbrough Ch.; according to CARY's map now Blowith Beck in the south of Glaisdale (cf. Guisbr. Ch. I. p. 103).[5]

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n. 1) 'whortleberry', M.E. *mōr* 'moor', and *gate* (< O.W.Scand. *gata*) 'way, road, path'. — It may be pointed out, in passing, that the place-name *Bloberhous* Yo. 1302 Yo. doc., now Blubberhouses, which is explained by MOORMAN as 'The houses by the black hill', from M.E. *blō* 'livid, black', cannot contain this adjective. The appearance of the southern form *blō* in this Yo. name would be difficult to account for. All the north Engl. names above have *Bla-* in M.E. Moreover, Plac. Warr. temp. Edw. I. has the form *Bluberhuses.* Perhaps it is from the M.E. surname *Bluber* which is given by BARDSLEY, q. v.

[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. or M.E. *land* 'land'. As in the case of *Blafeld* above, *bla-* must here have referred to the colour of the soil. The compound is formally identical with O.W.Scand. *bláland,* which, however, is known only as the name of Ethiopia, 'the land of the blacks' *(blámenn).*

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *mýrr* 'moor, bog', &c.; for some further details see Ch. 6. For Scand. parallels compare foot-note on next name.

[3] 2nd mem. is the M.E. word *pot* 'a deep hole or cavity' which is dealt with above, p. 72 n. 5; 3rd mem. is M.E. *ker* < O.W.Scand. *kiarr* 'copsewood, a marsh', N.E. dial. *car.* Cf. preceding name, further the O.Icelandic place-name **Blápen* D.I. III., and the present *Blámýrr* (KÅLUND), both properly signifying 'the blue (dark) fen'.

[4] 2nd mem. is M.E. *terne* < O.W.Scand. *tjǫrn, tjarn,* O.Swed. *tiärn* 'a tarn, small lake', see also p. 67 n. An exact equivalent is the Swed. name *Blåtjärn,* which exists in some localities; moreover, Swed. *blå* enters into several other lake-names, apparently in the sense of dark in colour. See HELLQVIST, Sjönamnen p. 61 f. and Sveriges Ortnamn: Älvsborgs län, Kullings härad. Cf. below Bleawyke.

[5] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *vað* = O.E. *wæd* 'a ford, shallow water' (Bosw. TOLLER). Cf. further p. 27 n. 1.

Blauuich, *Blawych, Blawyc* Yo. 12. cent., *Blawik* 1308 Whitby Ch.; *Blawyk* Plac. Warr.; now Bleawyke, on the coast south of Whitby.[1]

Blawit Lanc. 1275 Furness Ch.; *Blawith* 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI, 1, 1333 C. Inq., 1340 Furness Ch.; *Blawyth* 1412 Furness Ch.; now Blawith.[2]]

Farford Li. 1189-95, e. Hen. III., 1325 Br.Mus., T.N., Tax. eccl., 1303 f., 1428 F.A., &c.; *Fareford* 1203-06 f. Br.Mus., 1296 Cal. Inq.; *Farword* Rot. H.; now Farforth.

On the sole evidence of the present spelling STREATFEILD suggests as 1st mem. O.E.Scand. *fār*, O.Norw. *fár* 'sheep' (N.E. dial. *far*, O.Icel. *fær*, see NOREEN, Altisl. Gram. § 68, 2; Teut. base **fæhaz*, or **fahaz*, cf. TAMM, Etymol. Ordbok), which may be right.[3] In that case Farforth is a parallel to Gateforth and Gateford (see p. 52), Horsford Norf. (*Horsford* 1302 f. F.A., from M.E. *hors* 'horse'), and Oxford (*Oxana ford* 1038 Br.Mus., from O.E. *oxa* 'ox'). But it should be expressly pointed out that we have to make allowance for the possibility that *Far-*, *Fare-* represents here M.E. *far, fare*, from O.E. *fær* n. or *faru* fem. 'a going, journey, way, passage', N.E. fare; or it might be from the O.W.Scand. equivalents *far* n. and *fǫr* fem. Which of these alternatives seems the more likely is a debatable question. The same remarks are applicable to

Farwath Nott. 1199 (Inspex. 1232) Ch. R.; t. Edw. III. Plac. Warr.; near Blyth.[4]

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[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *vík* (O.Swed. *vik*, Dan. *vig*) 'a small creek, inlet, bay' (cf. also p. 145 n. 1). *Bla-* must here have meant 'dark' as in the other place-name compounds of this kind. A resident on the spot writes to me in reply to my queries: '. . . There are two small bays or creeks to the South of Fylingdales called Blea Wyke. This adjective Blae would be very appropriate to almost any Wyke on our coast, certainly to these two where the scar forms the bottom. The water is dark in colour'. Bleawyke is not far from Stoupe Brow (see p. 165). Cf. above in the note on Bleatarn.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *viðr* (O.Swed. *viþer*, O.Dan. *vith*) 'a wood'. The name is equivalent in meaning with O.W.Scand. *blá-skógr* 'a dark, dense wood'; found as a place-name in Iceland, e. g. *i Bláskogumm* La., *Bláskógar* KÅLUND.

[3] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *ford* 'ford', not 'Old Norse *forað* a morass', which is assumed by STREATFEILD. The present village of Farforth stands on a small stream.

[4] For the 2nd mem. see p. 178 n. 5.

Fareburne Yo. DoB.; *Fareburna* 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; *Fareburne* 1280 f. Cal. Inq.; *Farburn, Farborn* Kirkby; *Farburn* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., No. vill.; *Farburne* 1310 f. Cal. Inq.; now Fairburn.

This last instance is most doubtful, seeing that *Fare-* can here be an old river-name, or river-name element,[1] connected with the substantives *faru, fær,* &c. mentioned above under Farforth, and the verb O.E. *faran* 'to go, travel', O.W.Scand. *fara* 'to move, go, travel'.

Grarigg Wm. 1294 Ch. R.; now Grayrigg, in Kendal.

1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *grár* (O.Swed. *grar*, Dan. *graa;* Teutonic base **grǣwa-*) 'grey'. This word occurs as *gra, gro* in the ordinary M.E. vocabulary, for which see Björkman, Loanwords, p. 89. The native equivalent was O.E. *grǣg, grēg,* M.E. *grai, grei.*[2] O.W.Scand. *grár* enters, further, into

Grathwayt Lanc., see above, p. 109.

Grastanwro Yo., see below, p. 200.

Haburne Li. DoB.; *Haburc* Surv. 1118, 1150 f. Br.Mus., 1170-71 f. Pipe R.; *Haburch* 1178-79 Pipe R., 1189 (Inspex. 1318) Ch. R.; ? *Hautebarge* 1270 Br.Mus.; *Haburg* 1277 C. Inq., Rot. H., T.N., Tax. eccl.; *Haburgh* 1301 f. Ch. R., 1303 f., 1401 f. F.A., 1383 f. Pat. R., 1486 C. Inq.; *Hauburgh* 1316 F.A.; *Hauburg* t. Edw. II. Br.Mus.; *Heyburgh, Hayburgh* 1409 Pat. R.; now Habrough.

1st mem. is from the O.W.Scand. adj. *hár (hór)* 'high', O.Swed. *ha-* in place-names.[3] Some details on the origin and development of the *ā* in this word will be found at the end of Ch. 7, under *Hobi.* O.E. *hēah.* Here belong also

Hagayl Wm., see above, p. 56.

Hathwait Cumb.; see above, p. 111.

Hawath Lanc. 1257, *Houwat* 1258, *Howayth* 1322 Lanc. Inq.; *Howath* 1258-68 Cockers. Ch., 1323 Lanc. Inq., 1334 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Houwath* c. 1280 Cockers. Ch.; *Haweth* 1443, *Hawith*

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[1] For the 2nd mem. see p. 84 n. 2.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *hryggr* or north. M.E. *rigge,* for which see p. 53 n. 4.

[3] 2nd mem., in its recorded form, is M.E. *burȝ* 'fortified place, fortress, castle'; cf. p. 158 n. 2, and 44 n. 2. — The present village of Habrough stands on one of the northernmost slopes of the Wolds.

1468 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Hawethe* 1524 Cal. inq. Lanc.; now Howath (or Howarth?), in Catterall.[1]

Hacunesbi, *Haconesbi, Haconebi* Li. DoB.; *Hacunebi* 1164 f. Pipe R.; *Haconesby* 1202 (Inspex. 1317) Ch. R.; *Hacuneby* 1233 Rot. fin. exc.; *Haucunbi* t. Edw. I. Br.Mus.; *Haucunby* 1252 C. Inq.; *Hacunby* 1252 f. ib., Plac. Warr., Tax. eccl., Rot. H., 1309 f. Br.Mus.; *Hacumby* e. Hen. III. Br.Mus., 1268 Ch. R., 1281 C. Inq., Rot. H.; *Haccumbi* 1267 C. Inq.; *Hacuneby, Hacumebi, Hacumbi, Akone-, Ackoneby* T.N.; *Hakunby* 1313 C. Inq., &c.; now Hacconby.

From O.W.Scand. *Hákon,* O.E.Scand. *Hakon, Hakun*, a very common pers. name over all Scandinavia and, likewise, in Scand. England (cf. Björkman, Personennamen).[2] It has been explained from the same stem as that represented by the O.W.Scand. adj. *hór, hár* (cf. prec. names) 'high', and *konr* 'kindred, kind, race', O.E. *cyn*, Lat. *genus*. See further Noreen in Uppsalastudier p. 201. The same name occurs in

Hacunesho Lanc. 1199 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1227 Ch. R., 1261 Lanc. Inq.; *Hakenesho* 1205 R. Oblat.; *Haucunesheu* 1199, *Haucuncho* 1202 Lanc. Inq.; *Hacunsho, -hou* 1199-1200, *Hacunshou* 1205 f., *Hacuneshou, Hacinshou, Hacumshaw* 1262-68 Cockers. Ch., *Hakonesho* 1246, *Hacunsowe* 1335, *Haconeshou* 1357 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Hakensowe, -awe* 1324 Lanc. Inq.; *Haconeshowe* 1297 ib.; 1395 L. Fin. Conc.; &c.; now Hackensall.[3]

Hauuardebi Li. DoB.; *Hawardabi* Surv. 1118; *Hawardebi* 1202 Br.Mus.; *Hawordeby* t. Hen. III. Br.Mus., 1311 Pat. R.; *Houwerdeby* 1312 Pat. R.; *Hawardeby* 1204 Br.Mus., Tax. eccl. Rot. H., Plac. Warr., 1300 f. Cl. R., 1326 f. Pat. R., 1316, 1431 F.A.; *Hawardby* 1438 Pat. R.; now Hawerby.

From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hávarðr,* O.Swed. *Havardh,* O.Dan. *Hawarth,*[2] the former element of which is the same word as the O.W.Scand. adj. *hár, hór* (< **hauhaz;* cf. Habrough,

[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *vað* 'a ford' (cf. p. 27 n. 1). The meaning of the compound: the ford 'situated above' or 'having an elevated situation', tallies well with the site of the place, on the river Calder, as compared with the flatness of the parts along its lower reaches.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby p. 3.

[3] 2nd mem. is in all probability M.E. *how* < O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'hill, mound, cairn' (cf. p. 137), though, formally, O.E. *hōh, hō,* &c. 'a projecting ridge of land', is also to be taken into account.

&c. p. 180), Goth. *hauhs,* OHG. *hôh,* O.E. *hēah* 'high'. Direct equivalents are OHG. *Hohowart, Howard,* and O.E. *Hæhward* C.D. 695. *Hávarðr* was, according to LIND, a most usual name in Norway throughout the Middle Ages. It is apparently the source of O.E. *Haward,* which, if SEARLE's material may be trusted, is not recorded until the Scand. period; it occurs, moreover, in DoB. (*Hauuarḍ, Hauuart,* only Yo.), 1294 Ch. R. (Yo.) and, sporadically, as a surname in the Close and Patent Rolls. Whether there existed a native name of the same form is at least most doubtful, since almost every fact we have to go upon speaks for Scand. origin. The early appearance of the Scand. name in O.E. accounts in some measure for the substitution of the common O.E. name element *-ward (-weard)* for the original Scand. *-varðr* with spirantic *ð*.[1] — The same name enters into

Hawardeshou Li. DoB., Surv. 1118, 1316 F.A.; *Hawardesho* 1167-68 Pipe R.; *Hawardeshow* 1287 C. Inq.; *Hawardeshou, -hu, Hawardhou, -how, Haywardeshow* Rot. H.; *Hawardeshow, Hawardhow,* &c. Plac. Warr.; *Hawardhou* 1338 Pat. R.; *Hawardshowe* 1428, *Hawardeshowe* 1431 F.A.; now Haverstoe Wap.[2]

Houwardmar' Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[3]

Hawardesdalebek Yo. 1312 Pat. R.; in Swaledale.[4]

Hawic Nhb. 1230 Pat. R.; *Hawyk, Hawick* 1278 Nhb. Ass. R.; *Howyk'* 1281 f. Wickwane's Reg.; *Howick* 1288 C. Inq.; *Howyk by Alnewyk* 1319, *Howyk* 1340, *Howyke* 1465 Pat. R.; *Hawyk* 1374, *Howik* 1375, (cf. *Waltero Hawyk* 1404-05) Durh. Account R.; now Howick.

1st mem. appears to be from O.W.Scand. *hár, hór* 'high' (as in preceding names); then the name would be equivalent to the Norw. *Haavik* (*i Hauikum* BK.; cf. RYGH, N.G. XI, 18), which is found in several localities, but, however, is to be explained from different words as 1st members. In some cases it must con-

[1] A form *Hawarð* with spirant does occur in an 11th cent. inscription in the church of Kirkdale, Yo. N.R., for which see M. FÖRSTER in Engl. Stud. 36, p. 446.

[2] For the 2nd mem. see foot-note on Hackensall, p. 181.

[3] 2nd mem. is probably the same word and should be judged in the same way as that of *Odulfesmare* p. 157. There are in the same charter several other names referring to marshy land.

[4] 2nd mem. as in Cragdale (p. 187 n. 2); 3rd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bekkr,* or M.E. *beck* 'a brook, stream'.

tain the aforesaid *hár*, &c. 'high', which then refers to a shore skirted with high mountains or to some (steep) acclivity on the shore. As far as can be judged from the maps at my disposal, this etymology is applicable in the present case. — The meaning of the 2nd mem., O.W.Scand. *vík* 'a creek, inlet, bay' (cf. p. 145 n.) suggests also another word, viz. O.W.Scand. *hár* 'dog-fish', N.E. dial. (Shetl. Orkn. e. Angl.) *hoe*, *hoe-fish* 'the piked dog-fish', or O.E. *hā* 'rowlock' < O.W.Scand. *hár* 'a thole' (see further on this word BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words p. 99, with references). But, if that be so, it is difficult to account for the early appearance of the *o*-vowel in *Howyk* &c., unless we choose to assume that the original 1st mem. had been associated with and replaced by some altogether different word, as O.E., M.E. *hō* 'promontory' (cf. p. 137).

Kalegarth *[cultura]* Yo. t. Edw. I. Plac. Warr.; in Appletreewick. From O.W.Scand. *kál-garðr* 'a cabbage-garden', O.Swed. *kalgarþer*, O.Dan. *kalgarth;* to this word goes back N.E. dial. *kalegarth,* quoted by E.D.D. from Yo. and the northernmost counties. There are strong reasons in favour of the assumption that the M.E. northern *cal, cale, kale* 'cabbage', and its modern representative N.E. dial. *kale, kail,* depend on O.Scand. *kāl;* so may the isolated O.E. *cāl* in Ælfric's Gloss.[1] inasmuch as the current O.E. form was *cawel, cawl* (from Lat. *caulis;* as for the further development see N.E.D., and BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words). In the same direction points the evidence afforded by the distribution of N.E. *kale* in the English dialects, where, with one exception, it is not found outside Scand. England. — M.E. *kale* resp. O.Scand. *kāl* may further enter into

Caletoft Li., see below in Ch. 7.

Caltwayt Yo., see above p. 113.

Caletorp Li. DoB., *Calthorp* 1281 C. Inq., Rot. H., 1316 F.A., 1368 Cat.A.D., &c.; now Cawthorpe, in Bourne.

Kalthorpe Li. 1227 Ch. R.; *Caltorp* 1273 C. Inq., T.N.; *Calthorp* 1229 Ch. R., Tax. eccl., T.N., 1315 C. Inq., 1303 f., 1428 F.A. &c.; now Little Cawthorpe.[2]

It should be expressly understood that all these last cases are more or less ambiguous, inasmuch as there is no means of deciding if they do not contain some different word, e. g. M.E. northern *kald,* O.W.Scand. *kaldr* 'cold', or, perhaps rather, the O.Scand. man's name *Kali.* [It is most probably the latter with which we are concerned in the place-name

[1] A different view is held by FALK & TORP, Etym. Wb., who take O.W.Scand. *kál* to have been adopted from O.E.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

Calatorp, *Caletorp* Norf. DoB.; *Kaletorp* T.N., t. Hen. III. Br.Mus.; *Caletorp* t. John Rot. Cur., T.N.; *Calthorp* 1260 Rot. fin. exc., 1306 Br.Mus., 1316, 1401 f. F.A.; &c.; now Calthorpe.[1]

From this man's name *Kali* have been explained the O.Dan. place-name *Calæthorp* LCD., and the O.Swed. *Calathorp* (Lundgren), as it seems, direct equivalents of the M.E. name.]

[**Kawuda** Yo. C.S. 1112 (963); *Cauuda* 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R.; *Cawude* 1201 Rot. Canc., 1230 Cl. R., 1279 C. Inq.; *Cawode* 1230 f. Rot. fin. exc., 1283, 1303 Ch. R., Rot. H., Plac. Warr., 1295 &c. Pat. R.; *Cawod* 1225 f. Gray's Reg., 1250 Ch. R., Plac. Warr., 1297 &c. Yo. doc., 1312 C. Inq.; *Kauwode* 1267? C. Inq.; *Kawode* T.N.; &c.; now Cawood.

From north. M.E. *ka, kaa,* N.E. dial. (only north. and Scotl.) *kae* 'a jackdaw'; the immediate source of this word seems to be an unrecorded O.W.Scand. **ká* the existence of which is established, to some extent, by Norw. dial., e. Dan. *kaa* with the same sense, and, moreover, by the O.W.Scand. nickname *kábeinn* 'with legs like a jackdaw' (F. Jónsson, Tilnavne p. 221). O.E. has for jackdaw only the word *cēo,* which occurs in Ælfric's works. The current M.E. word is *choȝe, chowe,* N.E. chough; a comparatively late M.E. midland form is *co, koo* (also *keo, co-brid, cadow,* N.E. caddow). Everything considered, one may feel inclined to suspect that the word in all these forms is a native and, ultimately, a Common Teutonic product. In that direction point the numerous cognates found in the Continental Teut. languages: OHG. *chaha, châ,* MHG., MLG. *kâ,* M. Du. *ca,* &c.; as for the ground-forms which have been postulated, see N.E.D. under chough.[2]

However that may be, it is worthy of note that of M.E. *ka* in place-names I have found no instance outside Scand. England. The following additional names belong here:

Cavuda *[silvam quæ vocatur]* Lanc. 1189-1206, *Kawode [nemus]* 1211-36 Cockers. Ch.; *Cawode* 1335 C. Inq.; *Kawode* 1320-1346 Lanc. Surv.; *Cawod* 1436 Cal. inq. Lanc.; now Cawood, in Melling.[2]

[1] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *wude* (O.E. *wudu, widu*), N.E. wood. — In commenting upon the etymology of Cawood Lanc., Wyld & Hirst, after some deliberation, arrive at the somewhat startling conclusion that this name may contain O.E. *cealf* 'calf', or a Scand. pers. name *Kalfr.* The improbability of this view need not be further dwelt upon. — It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that M.E. *Caton,* &c., now Caton, Lanc. should be explained from the same word *ka.* For early spellings see Wyld & Hirst, who have no etymology to suggest.

Kaberg' *[Michael de]* Nhb. 1256 Nhb. Ass. R.; not identifiable.[1]

Caburne Li. DoB.; *Caburna* 1130 H. Pipe R.; *Kaburn* 1189 (Inspex. 1318) Ch. R., Rot. H., T.N., 1431 F.A.; *Caburne* Tax. eccl., Rot. H., 1316 F.A.; *Caborn* 1303 f., *Caborne, Cawborne* 1428 F.A.; &c.; now Cabourne.[2]

Catorp Li. DoB., 1177-78 Pipe R.; *Catthorp* l. 12. cent. Br.Mus.; *Cathorp* Tax. eccl., 1303 f., 1401 f. F.A., &c.; now Caythorpe.[3]

Cathweyt Yo. and North., see p. 112.]

Carebi, Caretorp Yo. DoB. &c., from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Kári*, see further in Part II.

Crachele Yo. DoB.; *Crakehale* 1269, *Crachale* 1282 C. Inq.; *Crakehall* Kirkby; *Crachall* No. vill.; *Crakhale* 1331 C. Inq.; now Crakehall, near Patrick Brompton.

Perhaps from the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Krákr* or the fem. *Kráka*. But it may be more likely that we have here O.W.Scand. *kráka* (O.Swed. *kraka*, O.Dan. *krakæ*) 'a crow', or *krákr* 'a crow or raven', used as a surname. Both of them are recorded in literature in that application (F. Jónsson, Tilnavne; Kahle, Altwestnord. Beinamen), and are preserved in some O.Norw. place-names. Scand. loan is most probably the personal name *Craca* in LVD., and, likewise, M.E. *crāke*, N.E. dial. (only in Scand. England, Shrop. and Scotl.) *crake* 'a crow, rook' (cf. Björkman, Personennamen p. 87, Loan-words p. 95). *Kráka* (and *krákr?*) occurs in several other M.E. place-names; as a general rule it is impossible to decide, in each particular case, whether we have before us the appellative or the pers. name. The latter seems to enter into a Yo. double of the name now under consideration[4], viz.

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[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *beorȝ* or O.W.Scand. *berg* 'mountain, hill'; cf. p. 13 n. 2.

[2] 2nd mem. as in Stainburn, p. 84.

[3] 2nd mem. as in Barthorpe, p. 4.

[4] 2nd mem. is perhaps the same as in *Steineshale*, which has been explained above, p. 82, from M.E. *halle* (O.E. *heall*) 'hall', i. e. the residence of a king or a territorial magnate. It may be added that it is just as possible that we have here O.W.Scand. *hǫll* 'a large house', palatium. This word is applied in literature chiefly to a king's or earl's hall (Vigf.); but as has been shown by Guðmundsson (Privatboligen p. 195) it seems, on the evidence of the oldest Icelandic poems, to have been employed at an earlier date of a house in general = *bær, hús, skáli*, &c. — On the other hand it might be argued that the early spelling *-hale* with a single *l* is not in favour of this etymology, but rather points to M.E. *hal, hale* (< inflected cases of O.E. *healh, halh*) 'a corner, nook, secret

Crecala Yo. DoB.; *Crakhalle* 1314 C. Inq.; *Crachale* No. vill.; *Crakehale, Crakhale* 1338 Melton Reg., see No. vill. for Yo.; now Crakehill, near Topcliffe. — Here belong further

Crachou Yo. 1257 Ch. R.; *Crachhou* Kirkby; *Crakehowe* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1334 C. Inq.; *Crakhowe* No. vill., 1378 Poll-tax; now Crakoe.[1]

Crakeford *[a ponte de]* Norf. Rot. H.; now lost? In South Erpingham hundred.[2]

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place', N.E. dial. *hale, hal* (Lanc. Li. Midd.): 1) a piece of flat alluvial land by the side of a river, a sand-bank, 2) a triangular corner of land. See further N.E.D under haugh, and E.D.D. The hamlet of Crakehill stands on a bend of the river Swale. I have not been able to find out how far, beyond this, the natural features of the two localities (Crakehall and Crakehill) are compatible with such a derivation, which, however, seems plausible enough. But still a third possibility must not be passed by without notice. The 2nd mem. formally squares with O.W.Scand. *hali* m. 'a tail', which word is stated by FRITZNER (q. v.) to occur in several O.Scand. place-names, in which it seems to refer to the form or situation of pieces of land. Of no small interest is especially the e. Norw. place-name *Katterall,* which means 'a cat's tail' (from the genitive *kattar* of O.W.Scand. *kǫttr* 'cat') and according to RYGH, N.G. I, 44 was applied to a farm on account of the lengthened shape of its lands. A direct parallel to this name may be evidenced from the local nomenclature of Scand. England, for etymologically identical is obviously **Catrehala** Lanc. DoB.; *Cateral* 1206 f. Cockers. Ch.; *Caterhale* 1212 Lanc. Inq., 1297 &c. Lanc. Subs. R. &c.; *Katerhale* 1242 Lanc. Inq., 1246 Lanc. Assize R.; *Katirhal* 1244 Lanc. Inq.; *Katreale* 1272 Cat.A.D.; *Caturhale* 1293 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Caterale* 1257 Lan. Inq. &c., 1327-1377 Furness Ch.; *Caterall* 1348 Furness Ch.; now Catterall. It should be observed that the *l* is here written single in all the early spellings down to the middle of the 14th century. (A reference to this name should have been given in Ch. 1.) The word *hali* was consequently in use as a place-name element among the Scandinavians in England at a very early date. Perhaps in the case of Crakehall &c. we have to assume a ground-form **Kráku-hali;* yet if *hali* could be applied to a bird's tail is doubtful from the material in the dictionaries. But it might have been used here directly about a piece of land of the form indicated, and the 1st mem. might be a pers. name. — WYLD & HIRST seem not to have recognized the full meaning of the Norw. *Katterall,* and their explanation of the 2nd mem. of *Catrehala* cannot be accepted.

[1] 2nd mem. perhaps M.E. *hou* < O.W.Scand. *haugr* 'a hill, mound, cairn'; see the comments on this word p. 137.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.E., M.E. *ford,* N.E. ford. In how far we are concerned in this and possibly the next name but one with some parallel to the O.W.Scand. river-name *Kráka* (RYGH, Elvenavne), or some possible, similar M.E. formation, allied to O.E. *cracian* 'to resound', cannot be

Crakemershe Staff. 1258 Ch. R.; *Crakemers* 1273, *Crakemerss* 1331, *Crakemersh* 1335 C. Inq.; now Crakemarsh.[1]

Crakedale Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; now Cragdale, in Aysgarth.[2]

Crakemere (meadow) Yo.? see Guisbr. Ch. II, 336 n.[3]

Crakpol Li. Rot. H. In the Fen district?[4]

Crakethweit Li., see p. 114.

Nadfartone Yo. DoB. (2 ×); *Natfertuna* e. 12.cent., *Nafretune* a. 1180, *Nafertona*, *Naffertona* 12.cent., *Naffretona* 1235-49 Whitby Ch.; *Naffreton* Kirkby, Tax. eccl., 1301 Cl. R., 1302 Pat. R.; *Nafer-*, *Nafreton* Rot. H.; *Naffirton* 1308 Whitby Ch.; *Nafferton* Plac. Warr., No. vill., 1312 f. Pat. R., 1319 f. Cl. R., &c.; now Nafferton.

1st mem. is gen. of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Náttfari*, which may have existed also in O.E.Scand. judging from the O.Dan. place-name *Natfaræthorp* SRD., now Naffentorp in the Swedish province of Skåne. The Domesday spelling *Nad-* involves no phonetical difficulties, since the rendering of etymological *t* by *d* is far from rare in early M.E. texts betraying strong Norman influence, as DoB. (cf. Stolze § 36) and Lazamon's A-text (Luhmann p. 38; cf. also Skeat, Proverbs of Alfred p. 406); it is probably due to some uncertainty felt by A.N. scribes as to the value of the English *t*-sound. This *Náttfari* is composed of O.W.Scand. *nátt* 'night' (O.E. *neaht*, *niht*, *næht*, Goth. *nahts;* on O.W.Scand. *nátt* < **naht-* see Noreen, Altisl. Gram. §§ 119, 258), and *-fari* 'viator', a nomen agentis to the verb *fara* 'to go, travel', recorded only in some compounds, where it usually denotes a person who has journeyed or often journeys to a place, e. g. *Englandsfari*, *Jorsalafari*. Cf. too, *Rúmfari* 'a Rome traveller', which occurs in M.E. under the Latinized form *Rompharus;* see Björkman, Personennamen pp. 113, 212, to whose

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determined. O.W.Scand. *kraki* 'a pale, stake' (see p. 114 n. 5) should, perhaps, also be taken into consideration.

[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *mershe* (< O.E. *mersc*) 'a marsh'. A doubtless native parallel to this name is the south Engl. *Craumareis* Oxf. 1082-87 Br.Mus., *Craumershe Bataill* 1316 F.A., now Crowmarsh Battle; from O.E. *crāwe* 'a crow'. On M.E. *mershe* cf. p. 160 n. 1.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *dalr* (O.E.Scand. *dal*), or M.E. *dale* (O.E. *dæl*) 'a valley.'

[3] As for 2nd mem. M.E. *mere*, see p. 28 n. 3.

[4] 2nd mem. may be O.W.Scand. *pollr* 'pool, pond, creek', or O.E., M.E. *pull* or *pöl* 'pool, creek.' Cf. p. 72 n. 6.

material I may add *Richard Romefare of Wynthorpe* 1340 Pat. R. (now Winthorpe Li.). *Náttfari* thus properly meant a man travelling by night,[1] performing a *nátt-fǫr, nátt-far* 'nocturnal journey'. It seems further to enter into

Nafferton Nhb. 1176-77 f. Pipe R., 1236 Cl. R., 1260 f. C. Inq., 1335 Pat. R.; *Naffertona* 1178-79 Pipe R.; *Nafretun* 1221 Pat. R.; *Naffreton* 1225 ib., 1330 f. Cl. R., 1338 Pat. R.; **Natferton** 1264, 1289 C. Inq., *Nofferton* 1263, *Naffertun* 1265 ib.; now Nafferton.[2]

Nathwait Cumb. (see p. 118), probably from O.W.Scand *ná-* 'near', < Teut. **nǣhwa;* Goth. *nêhws,* O.E. *nēh, nēah.*

Rabie Chs. DoB.; *Rabi* 12.cent. (Inspex 1285) Ch. R.; *Raby* 1277 C. Inq., 1335, 1400 Pat. R.; now Raby, in Neston.

1st mem. cannot be from O.W.Scand. *[w]rá* (O.E.Scand. *vrā*) nook, corner', as is maintained by Collingwood, Norse place-names in Wirral, Saga-Book vol. II, p. 143-47; this explanation is untenable for reasons which are stated below, p. 197 n. It most likely represents O.W.Scand. *rá* (< **raihō,* perhaps allied to O.E. *rǣw, rāw* 'a row, line'; see further Falk & Torp, Etym. Wb.) 'a landmark' (= *rá-me.ki,* cf. *mark-rá* 'a boundary line'), O.Swed. *ra (ramärke)* 'landmark, boundary line', Norw. dial. *raa,* Swed. dial. *rå.* From the same word comes the M.E. place-name *Rathuait* (see p. 119); with this is to be compared the O.Swed. compound *raland,* which must have denoted a plot of land defined by landmarks. Here should be mentioned the word *wray* which is given by E.D.D. from the Cumb. dialect in the sense of a landmark; if this statement is correct, the word seems to have descended from O.W.Scand. *rá* &c., and the present form with initial *w-* must then be due to confusion with N.E. dial. *wray, ray* (only in Wm. according to the same dictionary) 'a corner', from the above-mentioned O.W.Scand. *[w]rá.*

Exact M.E. parallels to the Chs. *Raby* are to be found in some other northern counties. For some unknown reason *Raby*

[1] On the model of *Náttfari* was apparently coined the fictitious O.W.Scand. pers. name *Dagfari* in Bósa-Saga (ed. Jiriczek, Strassburg 1893). — Of *-fari* there was an O.E. equivalent *-fara,* which is found in two or three compounds of a different kind; see Bosw. Toller.

[2] As for 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1. — With the early assimilation of *Natfer- > Naffer-* is to be compared the corresponding phenomenon in the Scand. Naffentorp (see above). — Of the present Nafferton in Durham I have found no M.E. instances.

in Lanc. is left unexplained by Wyld & Hirst. The present Raby in the Isle of Man appears to be of the same origin; still Moore, Manx Names p. 200, derives it from *rá* 'corner'. The following additional instances may be quoted here:

Rabil Lanc. DoB.; *Raby* 1238 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1245 f. Lanc. Assize R., 1311 Lanc. Inq.; *Roby* 1304 Ch. R., 1322 f. Lanc. Inq., 1376, 1423 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; &c.; now Roby.[1]

Rabi Cumb. 1189 (Inspex. 1307) Ch. R.; *Raby* t. John Holm Cultram ch., Mon. V; *Rabye* 1226 Cal. Rot. Ch.; now Raby, near Kirkbride.[1]

Rabye Durh. 1200 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Raby* 1311 f. Pat. R., 1345 Cl. R., 1349 f., 1414 f. Durh. Account R.; now Raby, in Staindrop par.[1] — Here belong further:

Rabec Yo. 1206 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Upleatham.[2]

Radale Yo. 1307 Ch. R.; now Raydale (stream and valley).[3]

Raschel Yo. DoB.; *Raskelf* 1312 Pat. R., No. vill., &c., now Raskelf. See further in Part II, under Scand. *sk.*

Ralund Derb. 1102-18 Cluni ch.; near Highlow?[4]

Scales Lanc. 1329, 1474 Pat. R., 1369 Furness Ch.; *Skales* 1380 Pat. R.; now Scales, near Urswick.

From O.W.Scand. *skáli* 'a hut, shed, put up for temporary use, sometimes at a considerable distance from the farm' (Norw. dial. *skaale;* no O.E.Scand. equivalent recorded), which meaning is particularly obvious in compounds such as *lauf-skáli, leik-skáli, fiski-skáli.* On O.W.Scand. territory the term came soon to be employed chiefly of the house among the farm-buildings that was intended for sleeping in, *svefn-skáli* (cf. Guðmundsson, Privatboligen p. 206 &c.). In England there is as yet no evidence of a similar specialized application of the word, which appears

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Apparently identical in form with the O.Swed. place-name *Raby*, of which many instances are to be found in S.D.; cf. also Styffe, and Falkman.

[2] 2nd mem. is without doubt O.W.Scand. *bekkr*, O.Swed. *bäkker*, O.Dan. *bæk* 'a stream, brook', seeing that the same name appears on O.Dan. territory as *rabœc* LCD., and on O.Swed. as *rabek* S.D. V (1347); cf. further several instances of the Swed. place-name *Råbäck.* — From a formal point of view all these names can also be supposed to contain O.Scand. *rá* = O.E. *rāha, rā*, M.E. *rā* 'a roe'; still in most cases this alternative is scarcely worthy of consideration.

[3] As for 2nd mem. cf. Cragdale, p. 187.

[4] For 2nd mem. see p. 154 n. 2.

in M.E. as *scale* 'shanty', the sole reference in Björkman, Loanwords, being from the northern Cursor Mundi. To the north is confined, too, its modern continuation, N.E. dial. (Cumb. Wm.) *scale* 'a temporary hut or shelter, wooden shed'.

O.W.Scand. *skáli* occurs, moreover, in about 40 M.E. place-names, to be found almost exclusively in the northern counties of Yo. Lanc. Cumb. Wm., where they form a marked characteristic of the local nomenclature. The word seems to have been used here in the same sense as was stated above to have been the earliest on record, and in which it occurs in some O.Norw. place-names (see Rygh, Indl.). Of the greatest interest are those M.E. names of this kind into which it enters, generally in the plural, as last member; as first member we find, as a rule, a pers. name, a place-name, or a descriptive word, referring either to the situation of the building, the purpose for which it was used, or to its form and structure. Several noteworthy and suggestive compounds of the two last-named categories are included in the list below.

Amongst the M.E. spellings adduced of the names *Geytescales* and *Alynscales* the reader will notice the alternative forms *-sheles, -scheles*. These presuppose a hitherto unrecorded M.E. singular **shēle*, which must be the ancestor of the present N.E. dial. *sheal, sheel, shiel* 'hut, shed, cottage', known to the E.D.D. only from Sc., Cumb. and Nhb. In the latter county I have come across the place-name *Aldenescheles, Aldenschelys, Aldisheles* c. 1270 Nhb. Ass. R., which contains the same word (+ *Aldene*, pers. name; cf. p. 212 n. 4); cf. also *[Walter de] Scheles* 1255 ib. and *[Walter de] Aleynscheles* 1270 Ch. R. (in Durham? cf. p. 212 n. 6). Skeat, Etym. Dict., seems to regard *sheal* as due to an anglicized form of O.W.Scand. *skjól* (O.E.Scand. *skiul*) 'a shelter, cover', which may be right. It might be objected that *skjól* in the exact sense of a shed is not satisfactorily evidenced in O.W.Scand. literature, though it is so in Norw. dial., as well as *skiul* in O.E.Scand.; but the two alleged instances of this kind in Fritzner are not decisive. Still it is certainly possible that the word may have developed this meaning at an early date on English territory. But to return to O.W.Scand. *skáli:* It is derived, conjecturally, by Falk & Torp (Etym. Wörterb.) from a Teutonic **skawalan*. Although there are no phonetical difficulties in the way of such a derivation, it seems to me preferable to connect the word with O.W.Scand. *skál* (O.Swed. *skal*, O.Dan. *skaal*) 'a bowl, dish, scale of balance',

as is suggested by Guðmundsson (o. c., p. 207), who, in support of his view, calls attention to the compound *skál-hús* = *skáli*. Our *skáli* would then primarily have denoted a bowl-shaped hut. Buildings of such a form are proved to have existed since primeval times in Iceland, Shetland, the British Isles ('beehive houses'), and elsewhere in northern Europe (see ib. p. 107 f.); in Iceland they are still to be found and esp. used for confining sheep in. Again, the aforesaid O.W.Scand. *skál* (< Teut. **skælō*) has several cognates in the Continental Teut. languages, such as O.Sax. *scâla*, MLG. *schâle* 'Trinkschale', OHG. *scâla*, MHG. *schâle* 'Trinkschale, Wagschale, &c.' (cf. Schade's Wb., and Fick, Vergl. Wb. III). When faced with such facts one might feel disposed to wonder if an O.E. equivalent to these words did not once exist; we should then expect an Anglian form **scēl*, or a weak **scēla*, which would be precisely the ground-word presupposed by a native M.E. **shēle*. In other words, the possibility is not out of the question that O.W.Scand. *skáli* and M.E. **shēle* are — at any rate approximately — etymological equivalents, which have undergone the same development in meaning. It must be regretted that the material to go upon in O.E. is so very scanty and does not suffice for forming any definite conclusions, the nearest cognate here being *scealu* 'a shell, dish, cup &c.' with short stem-vowel. Accordingly the whole problem remains, for the present, practically unsolved.

We now pass on to the other M.E. place-names containing O.W.Scand. *skáli*.

Scalis Lanc. c. 1200 Scarisbrick ch.; not identifiable.

Scales Yo. 1229 Gray's Reg., 1257, 1310 f. C. Inq.; now Scholes, in Barwick-in-Elmet?

Scales, *Scaleshowe* Norf. 1483, *Scalys* 1485 Pat. R.; near Rainham?

Skaleby Cumb. Tax. eccl.; *Sculeby* 1245 C. Inq., Tax. eccl., 1302 N. Reg., 1348 Cl. R., 1320, 1411 Pat. R., 1485 C. Inq.; *Skaelby* 1385, *Schale-, Scaleby* 1400 Pat. R.; now Scaleby.[1]

Scaleberge Lanc. 1202 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Scaleber, in Tunstall.[2]

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[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. Cf. the O.Norw. place-name *J Scalabøle* E.J.

[2] 2nd mem. is M.E. *berȝ* or O.W.Scand. *berg* 'mountain, rock', etc.; cf. above p. 13 n. 2. Perhaps identical in form with the O.Norw. place-name *J Skalabergj* E.J.

Scalebec Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch.; near Liverton.[1]
Scalebec Wm. 1294 Ch. R.; now Scale Beck, in Great Asby.[1]
Skaleflat Yo. 1273 Yo. inq.; near Healaugh.[2]
Scalegail Cumb. see above p. 76.
Scalecroft Yo. 1252 Gray's Reg.; now Schole Croft, near Batley.[3]
Scalethwait, &c. see above p. 122.
Scalewra Cumb. 1267 Ch. R.; *Scalwraa*, *Scalwra* 1398 Cal. Inq.; [*Scallewrahill* 1441 Pat. R.]; now Scarrow, in Cumwhitton.[4]
Scalwra Yo. 1314 C. Inq.; now Scalebor, near Askwith?[4]
Akescales Yo. 1189 (Inspex. 1271) Ch. R.; near Ellenthorpe in Gisburn.[5]
Aylinescal Lanc. 1211-22 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Alinscalis* 1227-1236, *Alineschales* c. 1270 Furness Ch.; *Alynscales* 1382 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Alinschales*, *-scalis* 14th cent. &c. Furness Ch.; *Alaynscheles* 1393 Cat.A.D.; now Elliscales, in Dalton-in-Furness.[6]

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[1] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *bekkr* (O.Swed. *bäkker*), or M.E. *beck* 'a stream'.

[2] 2nd mem. is O.W.Scand. *flǫt* or *flǫtr*, for which see p. 89 n. 5.

[3] O.E., M.E. *croft* 'a piece of enclosed ground'; cf. further Introd. to Ch. 7.

[4] On 2nd mem., O.W.Scand. *[w]rá* 'corner, nook', see further on in this chapter.

[5] 1st mem. is either from the O.Scand. man's name *Áki*, which was in frequent use in Scand. England (see above, p. 168), or M.E. (north.) *āke* < O.E. *āc* 'oak'. Cf. *Akewra*, below p. 199.

[6] As may be seen from the earliest spelling on record, the 1st mem. is the M.E. pers. name *Ayline* < *Aylwine* (Rot. H. &c.). This latter form might be a regular development of O.E. *Æʒelwine*, the OHG. *Agilwin*, *Egilwin* (Förstemann); for other instances of *Æʒel* in O.E. compound pers. names see Müller, Palaestra IX, p. 105. However, as there seems to be no altogether trustworthy instance of this name recorded in O.E., it may be better to derive *Aylvine* from the common O.E. *Æthelwine*, with the dental disappeared according to A.N. sound-laws and the hiatus bridged by an inserted *j*. Cf. on some similar cases Zachrisson p. 101 f.; the form *Al-* for *Ayl-* is explained correctly ib. p. 110. As to the loss of *w* in *Ayline* it may be mentioned that such a loss is well exemplified in M.E. pers. names containing O.E. *-wine* as 2nd element; compare e. g. in the Hundred Rolls *Godin* < O.E. *Godwine*, *Goldin* < *Goldwine*, *Bodin* < *Bodwine*, etc. Traces of an analogous loss of *w* are observable already in O.E., on which I refer the reader to Sievers, Ags. Gram. § 173 Anm. 3. — Cf. also p. 212 n. 3, and 214 n. 10.

Burnolfscales Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; near Guisbrough.[1]

Forneschalehaylme Cumb. 1252 Ch. R.; *Fornescaleshailith* 1254 P. Pipe R.; near Dalston.[2]

Gamelscale Yo. 1388 Cal. Inq.; now Gammersgill, near Bishop Dale.[3]

Geytescales Cumb., see above p. 52.

Godwynescalez Yo. 1198 Fountains Mem.; near Ripley?[4]

Godwinscales Wm. 1281 C. Inq.; now Goodhamscales.[4]

Graystokskales Cumb. 1348 Cl. R.; now Scale, in Greystoke.[5]

Hegilscale Wm. 1402, *Hegelscales* 1422 Cal. Inq.; now Heggerscales.[6]

Houscales Cumb. 1249, *Honchal* 1271 C. Inq.; now Horsgills.[7]

Cokainscalis Lanc. 1369 Furness Ch.; now Cockenshell.[8]

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[1] 1st mem. is the man's name *Burnolf, Brunolf, Brunnolfus,* which occurs in the same record. This is probably from O.W.Scand. *Brunólfr,* O.Swed. *Brunulf;* in that case the metathetic form *Burn-* may have arisen only on English territory. The existence of a native name *Burnulf* or *Brunwulf,* which is given by SEARLE, is by no means certain.

[2] 1st mem. seems to be from O.W.Scand., O.Dan. *Forni,* pers. name. Compare also above p. 108 n. 3. The proper form and origin of the last member is not recognizable.

[3] From the O.W.Scand. adj. *gamall* (O.Swed. *gamal,* O.Dan. *gamæl*) 'old' (cf. the Icelandic *gamlastofa* 'an old house', given by GUÐMUNDSSON, Privatboligen p. 193), or the corresponding pers. name O.W.Scand. *Gamall,* O.E.Scand. *Gamal.* The comparatively rare O.E. equivalent *gamel* does not seem to have survived in M.E.

[4] O.E. *Godwine,* M.E. *Godwin,* &c., a common personal name.

[5] 1st component is the place-name *Craystok* 1253, *Graystok, Greystok* 1327 C. Inq., &c. now Greystoke. Of native origin.

[6] The former part of this name seems to be a compound of some word of doubtful origin + M.E. *gill* < O.W.Scand. *gil* 'a cleft, narrow valley' (see p. 135 n. 1).

[7] From the same form of O.W.Scand. *hór* 'high' as the place-name *Houby* Le., for which see end of Ch. 7. Cf. below *Lauescales.*

[8] Derived by WYLD & HIRST from gen. of the O.E. man's name *Cocca,* which explanation is not admissible. It is obvious that the 1st mem. is identical with the place-name *Kokayn* 1336 Furness Ch., now Cocken, the name of a place near Cockenshell. This name coincides, formally, with M.E. *cokaygne,* N.E. Cockayne: name of an imaginary country, the abode of luxury and idleness, Schlaraffenland, Kuchenland (for the etymology of the word see KLUGE, Etym. Wörterb., and N.E.D.). The Lanc. *Kokayn* is not unique in England: there is in Essex a place

Langescales Yo. 1230 Gray's Reg.; now Long Scales.[1]

Lauescales Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; *Laueschales* 1200-1201 Ped. fin. Eb.; now Laskill Pastures, near Helmsley.[2]

Loftscales Cumb. 1291 Hodgson's ch.; *Loftchales* 1332 Furness Ch.; not identifiable.[3]

Sandescale Lanc. 1336, 1400 Furness Ch.; now Sandscale.[4]

Saurchales Lanc. see above p. 163.

Somerscales Yo. 1335 Baildon; now Summerscale.[5]

Stryscales Wm. 1402, *Strykescales* 1422 Cal. Inq.; now Strice Gill.[6]

Stainschalehill Yo., see above p. 90.

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named *Cokayne* 1304 Ch. R., now Cockaynes in Alresford (cf. *Richard de Cokayne* Ess. Rot. H.). Cf. too, the present Cockayne Hatley, Bedf. The M.E. name is direct loan from French: in Dict. Topogr. de la Vienne we find a similar place-name *Cocquaigne* 1494, *Cocaigne* 1613, now Cocagne; the same name occurs in Dict. Top. de la Mayenne, and Dict. Top. de l'Eure. Lastly, I may mention that the word is also recorded in England as a pers. name: a certain *John Cokayne* appears 1401 f. Lanc. Fin. Conc. Cf. also the examples in BARDSLEY.

[1] From O.W.Scand. *langr* (O.Swed. *langer*, O.Dan. *lang*), or M.E. *lang* 'long'.

[2] Probably from northern M.E. *laue* (otherwise *lah, laȝe, lowe*) 'low', < O.W.Scand. *lágr*, O.Swed. *lagher*, O.Dan. *lagh* (< **lāga*). Cf. above *Houscales*.

[3] 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *lopt, loft* (O.Swed. *lopt, loft*, Dan. *loft*): 1) a loft, upper room; also used 2) of houses built on piles and thus lifted from the ground. It seems that **loft-skáli* in the present case had much the same signification as O.W.Scand. *lopt-skemma* 'a house or a small detached building containing a loft or upper room, or erected on piles'. For a description of buildings of this kind in Ancient Scandinavia see KÅLUND in Paul's Gr. III, p. 433 f. and GUÐMUNDSSON, Privatboligen, p. 223. Compare the similar compound *lopt-hús*, which is found as a place-name in several localities in Yorkshire; further details will be given in Part II.

[4] From O.W.Scand. *sandr* (O.Swed. *sander*, Dan. *sand*), or M.E. *sand* 'sand'. The place is situated close to the vast low-lying area called the Duddon Sands, which skirts the estuary of the river Duddon; hence the name.

[5] From O.W.Scand. *sumar*, O.Swed. *somar*, O.Dan. *somær*, or M.E. *sumer, somer* < O.E. *sumor* 'summer'.

[6] Perhaps from the O.E. pers. name *Stric, Strica*. Or from O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *strik* 'a kind of cloth'? The compound would then have denoted a building or booth where such cloth was kept or sold; cf. the O.Norw. place-name *Glisbud* E.J. &c., which meant a booth where finery *(glis)* is sold (RYGH, N.G. II).

Suterscales Yo. 1250 Lanc. Priv. deeds; *Sowterschale* 1292, *Souterschales* 1336, *Souterscales* 1400 Furness Ch.; now Souther Scales.[1]

Threfotherschales Yo. 1400 Furness Ch.; near Clapham?[2]

Wyndscales Cumb. 1334 C. Inq.; now Winscale in Workington.[3]

Windscales Cumb. 1294, *Winzscales* 1322 Cl. R.; now Winscales in Beckermet.[3]

Wynterschale Yo. 1292, *Winterschales* 1336, *Wynterscales* 1400 Furness Ch.; now Winterscales.[4]

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[1] From O.W.Scand. *sútari* (O.Swed. *sutare*, O.Dan. *sutœræ*) 'a bootmaker'; cf. the O. Norw. place-name *Sutarabøle* E.J. Or from the native M.E. equivalent *soutere* < O.E. *sūtere*.

[2] The lateness of the only spelling recorded renders it extremely hard to explain the remainder of the name. That it contains O.W.Scand. *fóðr* (O.Swed. *foþer*, O.Dan. *fothær*; O.E. *fōdder*) seems fairly certain. Maybe we have here an original compound **þrefa-fóðr*, meaning 'fodder put up in thraves', from O.W.Scand. *þrefi* 'a number of sheaves, a thrave' (O.Swed. *þravi*, O.Dan. *thravœ*); cf. M.E. *thrave* 'bundle, number', N.E. dial. *thrave*, *threave*. But since, as far as I am aware, no similar formations seem to be recorded in literature, this must be looked upon as a mere guess.

[3] 1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *vindr* (O.Swed. *vinder*, O.Dan. *vind*, O.E., M.E. *wind*) properly = 'wind', ventus; here, as I take it, in much the same sense as O.W.Scand. *rið*, which in the case of buildings signified 1) an outside gallery or balcony running along the loft or upper storey of a house, 2) a staircase leading up to this loft or gallery = *loptrið* (Fritzner). Of *vindr* Fritzner has two instances recorded in the sense of 'a staircase, winding staircase'. That it could, besides, be applied to a gallery of the kind just mentioned seems fairly plausible, although I can offer no evidence in support of this conjecture. This is, however, favoured by the development in meaning presented by the equivalent O.Swed. *vinder*, Swed. *vind*, which denotes 1) wind, ventus, 2) a room on the uppermost floor exposed to the wind, a garret; this latter sense is recorded only since the 15th cent. (Söderwall). It may, then, be safely assumed that the place-name before us originally denoted a building of the sort termed **loptskáli* (*loptskemma*, *lopthús*, see above p. 194 n. 3). And the *vindr* of the compound implies that to the loft or upper storey adjoined a gallery of the sort pointed out above, or that up to the loft &c. led an outside staircase (possibly a winding one?). A *loptskemma* constructed in such a manner represents a type by no means unknown in Ancient West Scandinavia; see the accurate description given in Guðmundsson, Privatboligen p. 250.

[4] As far as the form goes, the 1st mem. represents O.E., M.E. *winter*, or O.Swed. *vinter*, O.Dan *vintœr* = O.W.Scand. *vetr* 'winter'. Per-

Smatuaites Wm. &c. (see p. 122 f.). From O.W.Scand. *smár* 'small', < Teut. **smæha-;* allied to OHG. *smâhi* 'small', and O.E. *smēa-* in *smēalic* 'searching, exquisite', *smēamettas* 'delicacies', &c. (SWEET, Ags. Dict.).

Spanebi, *Spanesbi* Li. DoB.; *Spauneby* 1303 F.A.; *Spanby* 1325 Pat. R., 1346, 1401 f. F.A.; *Spanneby* 1316 F.A., 1308, 1330 C. Inq.; now Spanby.

1st mem. is O.W.Scand. *spánn* (*spónn*, O.Swed. *span*, e. Dan. *spaan*, O.E. *spōn*): 1) a chip, shaving, 2) roofing-shingle(s); here perhaps in the last-named sense. It is true that the isolated genitive form *Spanes-* in one DoB. spelling seems to point to a surname **Spánn;* there is no instance of such a name on record. But on the other hand it is at any rate presumable that the name was applied to a farm-house provided with a roof of shingles, a so-called *spánþak* (FRITZNER). That such a circumstance was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated in the name of the place is by no means astonishing, seeing that the usual material employed for roofing by the ancient Scandinavians was earth or greensward, even in the case of timber houses. Wood, in the form of either boards or shingles, seems to have been restricted to buildings of some importance; see on all this GUÐMUNDSSON, Privatboligen &c., pp. 151, 162. Occasionally straw *(= strá, halmr)* was used for the same purpose. Maybe the M.E. place-name *Halmbi, Halmebi* Yo. DoB., *Halmbi* 12. cent., *Halmby* 1201 Rievaulx Ch., (*Halneby* No. vill., *Haunby* 1538 Riev. Ch., now Hawnby), which contains the said O.W.Scand. *halmr* 'straw', or M.E. *halm,* originally denoted a farm with a house, or houses, covered with straw.[1]

O.W.Scand. *spánn* enters also into

Spanrigh, *Spanrig* Lanc. e. 13th cent. Cockers. Ch.; in Caton.[2]

Spantun, *Spantune* Yo. DoB.; *Spantona* 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R., 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *Spanton* Kirkby; *Scapton* (!) No. vill.; &c.; now Spaunton.[3]

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haps partly anglicized from an original O.W.Scand. **vetr-skáli;* cf. *vetr-hús* 'a winter-house' (also used as a place-name). Compare, too, the place-name *Somerscales* above.

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3. — From the same word is the O.Norw. place-name *af Spánheimi,* written *a Spannœimi* D.N. 4 (1293), which is dealt with in N.G. XI.

[2] As for 2nd mem. see p. 53 n. 4.

[3] As for 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[**Stalethweit** Cumb. (see p. 123), perhaps from the O.W.Scand. pers. name *Stáli*, which, according to LIND, is derived from O.W.Scand. *stál* 'steel' < **stahla*, O.E. *stīele, stȳle, stēle* < **stahlia*.]

Strathwait Li. (see p. 124), from O.Scand. *strá* < **strawa*, O.E. *strēa[w]* 'straw'.

Wra Lanc. 1190-1212 f. Cockers. Ch., 1226 Pipe R. (see Lanc. Subs. R.), 1227 f. Ch. R., 1229 Lanc. Fin. Conc., 1284 C. Inq., 1351 Cl. R., 1358 Br.Mus., 1389 Lanc. Inq.; *Le Wra* 1201 R. Oblat., 1335 C. Inq.; *Wraa* 1332 Lanc. Subs. R.; now Wray, in Melling.

From O.W.Scand. *[w]rá*, O.Swed., O.Dan. *vrā* 'a corner, nook, angle'. Teutonic base **wranhō*; cf. BJÖRKMAN, Provenienz, p. 22. In the initial combination *wr-* the *w* was mostly kept in O E.Scand., while it was lost at an early date in a very large portion of O.W.Scand.; according to NOREEN, who devotes some attention to the subject in Altisl. Gram. § 278, it was evidently sounded as late as the 10th century; in O.Norw. it was kept much longer than in O.Icel., more particularly in southern Norway, where it has come down to our own days in several dialects. In Scand. England the *w* is consistently retained in the same position in all cases I have as yet examined.[1]

[1] As for materials illustrative of this rule, see the field-name *Wrengledeiles* (p. 35); the M.E. place-names compounded with the closely allied adj. M.E. *wrang* < O.W.Scand. *[w]rangr*, O.Swed. *vranger* (SCHLYTER's Glossary to the ancient law of Vestergötland) in the sense of 'awry, not straight', as e. g. *Wrangeflat* Yo. Rievaulx Ch., *Wrongedik* hundred Rutl. 1256 C. Inq. &c.; *Wrauby* Li. 1301 Ch. R., *Wragheby* 1316 F.A. &c., now Wrawby, < O.Dan. *Wraghi*, pers. name (WIMMER); *Wragmire* (p. 208); *Wrabetun* Suff. l. 12. cent. Br.Mus., and *Wrabenase* Ess. 1263 C. Inq. &c. < O.Dan. **Wrabi*, pers. name? (cf. the O.Dan. place-name *Wrabbetoftæ* SRD.); *Wreneshals* Lanc. 1196 Lanc. Fin. Conc., *Wreineshals*, &c. 12. cent. (see further WYLD & HIRST p. 273), from O.W.Scand. *[w]reini* 'a stallion', cf. O.E. *wrǣne* 'lascivious'; besides, above all, the numerous M.E. place-names containing Scand. *wra* which are now under consideration. This preserving of the *w-* even in the three north-western counties, whose local nomenclature testifies to strong O.W.Scand. influence, constitutes one of the conservative tendencies of the Scand. language in England (cf. above p. 20). Yet it should not be overlooked that to the conservatism in the present case contributed essentially the pertinacity with which *w-* in the same position maintained itself not only in O.E.Scand., but also in the O.E., M.E. languages. Full particulars about the above names will be found in Part II. From all this it is clear that the M.E. place-name *Raby* cannot be from Scand. *wra* (see above p. 188).

O.W.Scand. *[w]rá* occurs, mostly uncompounded, in not a few O.Norw. local names, in which it is used of secluded or outlying places, sometimes surrounded by hills, or of patches of cultivated land jutting out from the main grounds of an estate or other land-area. In the same sense we meet with O.E.Scand. *vrā* in some Danish place-names (see MADSEN p. 255, and STEENSTRUP,, Da. Stednavne p. 107) and in many Swedish ones (FALKMAN p. 96 f., and Sveriges Ortnamn, passim).

The word under notice was introduced into England by the Scand. settlers, and is recorded in M.E. under the forms *wra, wro* (cf. BJÖRKMAN l. c.). As to the present English dialects it seems to have been preserved only in that of Wm., from which E.D.D. gives *wray, ray* 'corner'. In addition to this it enters into a great number of M.E. place-names, of which about 60 are noted here. They are generally to be found in Yo. and the north-western counties, and the word seems here to have been applied to the same kind of localities as in Scandinavia. The 1st members of these names are descriptive words, pers. names, or names of other places which were apparently the scenes of a somewhat earlier process of settlement and cultivation than those marked by the *wra*-names. Only a very few instances are known from Li. and one from Norf. (see list below). From Suff. I have noted a field-name *the Wroo* 1479 Bury St. Edmunds wills. Notwithstanding the scanty material thus evidenced from the Southumbrian counties, it is possible and even probable that the word was more common in use there than we are led to believe from the nomenclature on record. An interesting instance of the word from these parts is embodied in a Bullington charter (Li.; see Mon. VI, 2), dating, as it seems, from the 12th century, where some plots of land are defined in this way: '*Et in Sudhenges novem acras in duobus locis; scilicet quæ vocantur Wraes*'.

Here follows the remaining material afforded by the M.E. nomenclature:

Wra Lanc. 1226 f., *Wraa* 1324, *Wro* c. 1322 Lanc. Inq.; now (Ribby with) Wrea, in Kirkham.

[**Wraye** Lanc. 1536 Lanc. rec.; now High Wray, near Hawkshead.]

Wra Cumb. 1486 C. Inq.; now Wreay, near Dacre.

Wra Cumb. 1485 C. Inq.; near Brampton.

Wra Yo. 1202 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Scamston.

Wra Yo. 1294 Ch. R.; in Beningbrough.

Le Wra Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; in Bolton le Sands.[1]

Wragreve Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; in Bolton le Sands.[2]

Wramilna *[molendinum quod vulgo vocatur W.]* Li. 12. cent. (?) Alvingham Reg., Mon. VI 2; in Cockerington.[3]

Wraton Lanc. 1225-26, 1247 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; *Wraiton* 1229 ib.; *Wretton* 1227 Ch. R.; *Wraton* 1284 C. Inq., 1351 Cl. R., &c.; now Wrayton.[4]

Akewra Li. I.N. (under Partney); not identifiable.[5]

Alwhitwra Cumb. 1317 Ch. R.; not identifiable.[6]

Bigwra Lanc. 1332 Furness Ch.; *Holbigwra* ib.; now Holebiggerah, in Pennington.[7]

Birkelundewra Lanc. 1268-75 Cockers. Ch.; in Kellet (now Birklund Wray?).[8]

Bramwra Cumb. 1231 f. P. Pipe R.; *Brambwra* 1399 Pat. R.; now Bramwra, in Hutton by Edenhall.[9]

Dalebrigewara Cumb. a. 1268 Cockers. Ch.; in Newton with Scales (now Dalebridgewray?).[10]

Dubwra Wm. 1349 Cl. R.; near Crosby Garrett.[11]

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[1] As was intimated above, the word is of frequent occurrence uncompounded as a place-name in Scandinavia; with the above M.E. names cf. O.Norw. *Rae* D.N. 4 (1367), *Raa* B.J., O.Dan. *Vra* LCD., and O.Swed. *wra* S.D. V (1347), &c.

[2] 2nd mem. looks like M.E. *grēve* (< O.E. *grǣfa*) 'grove, wood', for which word see Crawford ch. p. 61.

[3] On the 2nd mem. see p. 160 n. 2.

[4] On the 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[5] 1st mem. as in *Akescales*, see above p. 192.

[6] From O.W.Scand. *alhvítr* = O.E. *eall-hwīt* 'all-white'. Compare, below, *Wytewra*.

[7] From M.E. *bige* < O.W.Scand. *bygg* 'barley'. Cf. Bigthwaite, p. 103.

[8] From O.W.Scand. **birki-lundr* 'a grove of birch-trees'; cf. *birkiviðr* 'a birch-wood'. O.W.Scand. *birki-* (< **birkia-*) in compounds is a collective formation of the same kind as *eiki*, for which see above, p. 36 f. Cf. O.E. *birce* fem. (< **birkiōn-*), M.E. *birche*, (northern) *byrke* 'birch'.

[9] M.E. *brame* 'a brier or bramble', see further *Bramthweit*, p. 105.

[10] From an obsolete (?) place-name *Dalebrige*, perhaps of native origin.

[11] 1st mem. seems to be the same word as e.N.E. *dub*, N.E. dial. *dub* (only Sc. and north. dial.) 'a muddy or stagnant pool, a deep dark pool in a river or stream'. The etymology of this word is enveloped in obscurity.

Dokwra Cumb. 1324 f. Pat. R., 1402 F.A. V, 1486 C. Inq.; *Docwra*, *Dokwra* 1331 C. Inq.; now Dockray.[1]

Eskewro Yo. Rot. H.; now disappeared? Near Wistow.[2]

Eskowra [*cultura*], *Hescouwra* Yo. 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; in Oswaldkirk.[3]

Fermwra Lanc. 1257-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Winmarleigh.[4]

Fildingfordewra Lanc. 1262-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Thistleton.[5]

Foghewra, *Fogwra* Lanc. 13. cent. (?) Furness Ch.; near Rosthwaite.[6]

Grastanwro Yo. 1230 Gray's Reg.; near Rawdon?[7]

Graystanwra Yo. 1347 Pat. R.; now Grayston Plain.[8]

Grenewra Cumb. 1202 f. Pipe R., V.H., 1222 f. P. Pipe R. — I cannot locate the site of this place which should seem to be to the W. or SW. of Carlisle.[9]

Heywra Yo. 1227, 1303 Cl. R., 1280 Ch. R., 1323 Cat. A.D., 1329 f. Pat. R.; *Heywro* 1283 Pat. R.; *la Haye Heywra*

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[1] From M.E. *dok, dokke* (O.E. *docce*) 'dock', the common name of various species of the genus Rumex; see further N.E.D.

[2] From O.W.Scand. *eski* (in compounds) 'an ash-wood, ash-trees', a formation similar to *birki* for which see above under *Birkelundewra*. Cf. *Eskedayle*, p. 32, and *Esketoft* in Ch. 7.

[3] From **Eskow* < **Estskow*, a native variant of the Scand. name *Oustscow* (dealt with above, p. 153) 'the eastern wood', which was the name of a tract of wood-land in Sproxton and possibly extending over the adjoining part of Oswaldkirk.

[4] 1st mem. seems to be M.E. *ferm* 'farm, rent' N.E. farm. It is possible that in the present case *ferm* is a descendant of O.E. *feorm* 'food, provision', etc., if this word primarily meant 'a fixed portion of provisions, ration'; see the comments on the word in N.E.D. and Introduction to the Pipe Rolls, p. 82.

[5] From a M.E. place-name *Fildingford*, of uncertain origin.

[6] 1st mem. is M.E. *fog, fogge*, N.E. fog: 1) the grass which springs up immediately after the hay-crop has been taken off, aftermath, 2) the long grass left standing in the fields during winter; rank grass, 3) in Sc. & north. dial. = moss. Of unknown origin, according to N.E.D., q. v.

[7] From a partly anglicized form of O.W.Scand. *grásteinn* (O.Swed. *grasten*) 'greystone'. To N.E. greystone the N.E.D. supplies no reference before the 19th century, nor is there any in Bosworth-Toller and Stratmann-Bradley; cf., however, the next name. — The appearance of the southern labialized form *wro* in this Yorkshire place-name is noteworthy. Cf. also *Eskewro, Swunewro*, &c.

[8] From M.E. **graystān* 'greystone', in the present case perhaps anglicized from O.W.Scand. *grásteinn*, for which see preceding name.

[9] From O.W.Scand. *grœnn* (O.Swed. *grön*, O.Dan. *grøn*) 'green', or the native equivalent O.E., M.E. *grēne*.

1330 Pat. R.; *Haywra* 1310 Ch. R., 1332 Cl. R., 1334 f. Pat. R., 1335 Br. Mus.; *Haywrocastell* 1393 Pat. R.; now Haverah.[1]

Holfletwra Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[2]

Howkeswra Li. 12. cent. Hyrst ch., Mon. VI,1; near Belton.[3]

Caldkeldwra Wm. 1349 Cl. R.; near Crosby Garrett.[4]

Koupemoneswra Lanc., see above, p. 146.

Killingewro Norf. 1198 Cal. fin.[5]

Linwra Cumb. c. 1240 f. Wetherhal Reg.[6]

Macwra Yo. t. Edw. III., see Hosp. of Killingwoldgrove, Mon. VI,2; near Walkington?[7]

Mosiwra Cumb. 1315 Cl. R.; in Inglewood forest.[8]

Murwra Cumb. 1486 C. Inq.; now Murrah, in Greystoke.[9]

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[1] From O.W.Scand. *hey* (O.Swed. *hö*, O.Dan. *hø*) 'hay', or the corresponding native M.E. *hei* < O.E. *hēʒ*. Cf. *Haithwait*, &c. p. 110.

[2] From O.E., M.E. *hol* adj. & sb. 'hollow, hole', and M.E. *flete* (O.E. *flēot*) 'a creek, rivulet, stream'; N.E. dial *fleet* 'a shallow channel, drain, ditch', &c.

[3] 1st mem. is the O.W.Scand. man's name *Haukr*, for which see further under *Houkesgarth*, above p. 143.

[4] From O.W.Scand. *kaldr* 'cold' (or northern M.E. *kald*) + *kelda* 'a fountain, spring', for which word see further p. 28 n. 1.

[5] At least two alternative explanations of the 1st mem. are supposable. It might be from O.W.Scand. *killingr* < *kiðlingr* (Norw. dial. *kidling*, *killing*, O.Swed. *kiplinger*, Swed. *killing*) 'a kidling, young kid', which word is a derivative with diminutive sense of *kið* 'a kid'; M.E. *kide*, Scand. loan. If that be so this is a remarkably early instance of the assimilation *ðl* > *ll* in the word; cf. the O.Norw. place-name *Killingstad* N.G. V, 357, the nickname *[Sighurðr] killinger* D.N. I (1371), and the examples adduced by Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 259,4. — In the place-name before us *Killing* could also be a patronymic derived from the O.Dan. man's name *Kille*, or, perhaps more probably, from the O.E. northern *Kille* LVD., which answers to the southern *Cille*. There are in M.E. not a few north Engl. place-names beginning with *Killing-*, which, in most cases, should be regarded as a patronymic from the native *Kille*. There is no need to assume Scand. influence to account for the non-palatalised *K-* in the Yorkshire place-names of this kind, as is done by Moorman, p. 114.

[6] From O.Scand. *lín* or O.E. *līn* 'flax'. Cf. Linthwaite, above, p. 117.

[7] 1st mem. is of uncertain origin. Perhaps it is from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Mákr* (or *Máki*), for which see further Lind, with references.

[8] Possibly from O.W.Scand., O.Swed. *mosi* (O.Dan. *mosæ*) 'moss, moorland'. Cf. *Mosedeile* p. 33.

[9] From O.W.Scand. *múrr* (O.Swed., Dan. *mur*) 'a wall of brick or stone', or the equivalent O.E. *mūr*, which, however, appears to have been comparatively rare and did not survive in M.E.

Natewra Lanc. 1220-50 Cockers. Ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[1]

Osmundwra Yo. t. Edw. III., see Hosp. of Killingwoldgrove, Mon. VI, 2; near Walkington?[2]

Peterelwra Cumb. 1350 Cl. R.; *Petrelwra* 1396 Pat. R.; *Wra* 1485 C. Inq.; *Peterelwraye* 1539, see Priory of Carlisle, Mon. VI,1; now Wreay, in Hesket in the Forest.[3]

Pilatewra Lanc. c. 1220-50 Cockers. Ch.; in Winmarleigh.[4]

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[1] The etymology of the 1st mem. involves some difficulties. It may be appropriate to discuss it together with three other north Engl. names which, on the face of it, contain the same element: *Natelond* Wm. 1278 C. Inq., *Nateland* 1301 Lanc. Fin. Conc., now Natland (in Kendal); *Nateby* ib. 1314 C. Inq., now Nateby (in Kirkby Stephen), and *Natebi*, *Nateby* Lanc. 13. cent. Lanc. Fin. Conc., now Nateby (in Garstang). This form *Nate-* may represent several different words, and, as a matter of course, it is by no means certain that all the place-names just mentioned contain one and the same word. It might embody the genitive of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Nati*, though it is true the only recorded instance of this is the mythical *Nati iǫtunn* in Snorra Edda. An O.Dan. *Nati* is postulated by NIELSEN as occurring in a surname and a place-name, which however hardly suffice, in themselves, to prove conclusively the existence of such a name. Yet it should be observed that an O.Swed. name of about the same form appears to enter into the e.Swed. place-name *Natestorp* (see Sveriges Ortnamn, Älvsborgs län VI, p. 7). — On the other hand, one or other of the M.E. place-names now under consideration may contain O.W.Scand. *hnata*, a secondary gen. plur. of *hnot* 'nut' (O.E. *hnutu*) and found in the compounds *hnataskógr* 'nut-wood', and *hnatatíund* 'a tithe paid in nuts' (FRITZNER). Lastly, one might feel tempted to connect *Nate-* with the O.W.Scand. river-name *Nǫt* (cf. RYGH, N.G. V, 219) and the O.Swed. lake-name **Nati*, now *Naten* (HELLQVIST, Sjönamnen p. 426). These names are from a stem **nat-*, with which are to be compared O.Sax. *nat*, OHG., MHG. *naz*, German naß 'wet'. All the English places in question are situated near streams or rivers. The map gives no guidance, but it is not impossible that in one case or so *Nate-* preserves an obsolete name of that kind. — WYLD & HIRST (p. 193) derive the Lanc. Nateby from an unrecorded O.E. man's name *Năta*, but there is little in support of this etymology which looks less plausible; to their comments on this and the other names treated in the same paragraph I hope soon to return elsewhere.

[2] From O.E. *Osmund*, pers. name.

[3] 1st mem. is the name of the river Petteril, on which the village of Wreay stands.

[4] 1st mem. is a M.E. surname **Pilat*, of which I have noted two instances: *Alan Pilath of Biker* (now Bicker Li.) 1316 Ch. R., and *Walter Pilatus* (Yo.?) 1311 ib. This name, as I take it, is to be

Routheclivewra Lanc. 1240-59 Cockers. Ch.; in Rawcliffe.[1]
Salterwra, *-war'* 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[2]
Selywra Cumb. 1315 Cl. R., 1339 Pat. R.; in Inglewood forest.[3]
Scalewra Cumb., **Scalwra** Yo.; see above p. 192.
Stakewra Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; in Bolton le Sands.[4]
Stalwra Yo. 1315 Cl. R.; now lost.[5]
Stermanwra Lanc. 1251 Furness Ch.; in Dalton-in-Furness.[6]
Stodwra Wm. 1200-30 f. Cockers. Ch.; in Mansergh.[7]
Stodfaldwra, *Stodfalde-wra* Lanc. 13. cent. (?), *Stodfalwra in Orgrave* 1412 Furness Ch.; not identifiable.[8]
Swindalewra, *Suindaleura* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Skelton.[9]

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connected with Med. Latin *Pilatus*, properly = *pilum habens, fur, latro;* for the further sense-development, as far as traceable in M.E. Latin deeds, see Du Cange, Glossarium Mediæ & Infimæ Latinitatis. — N.E. *pilat, pilot* cannot be taken into consideration, as it is not recorded until the 16th century (N.E.D.).

[1] From the M.E. form of the present Rawcliffe, for which see p. 159.

[2] From M.E. *salter* (O.E. *sealtere*): 'salter, salt dealer', salinator; found in some local names, for which see Bosw. Toller.

[3] 1st mem. is most likely M.E. **sely* < O.W.Scand. *selja* fem. (< **salhjōn;* OHG. *salahu*, Swed. *sälg*, Dan. *selje*) 'sallow, willow.' To the same word seems to go back N.E. dial. *selly*, which occurs only in Yo., otherwise the current dialectal form is *sally* or *saugh*. O.E. *sealh, saliȝ*, M.E. *salghe, salwe, sali*. As regards the final *-y* in **sely* compare M.E. *briny* < O.W.Scand. *brynja* 'coat of mail; see also Björkman, Loan-words, p. 183.

[4] From the O.Scand. word represented by O.Swed. *staki*, Dan. *staye*, or from the native equivalent M.E. *stake* (O.E *staca*) 'a stake'. The native word is frequently met with in delineations of land, where it apparently signified some sort of landmark.

[5] From O.W.Scand. *stallr* (O.Swed. *staller*, *stalder*, Dan. *stald*) 'a stall (for cattle), stable', or the equivalent O.E. *steall*, M.E. *stal*. Cf. further down *Stodwra* and *Stodfaldwra*.

[6] From M.E. *sterman* < O.E. *stēor-mann* 'a steersman', gubernator.

[7] O.E. *stōd* 'a stud, herd of horses', M.E. *stōd* 'stud, stable'. Compare the corresponding O.W.Scand. *stóð*, O.E.Scand. *stoþ*; OHG. *stuot*. Cf. next name.

[8] O.E. *stōd-fald* 'an enclosure for a stud of horses' (cf. Dan. *stodfold* with the same sense). The word is not seldom found as a local name; for instances see the Rievaulx and the Cockersand Chartularies. Cf. preceding name, and, above, *Stalwra*.

[9] 1st component is the M.E. representative of the present place-name Swinedale Ho., marked on the Ordnance Map near Great Moorsholme, in Skelton. Swinedale Ho. stands on a small stream which

Swynegarthwra Yo. 1283 Selby Ch.; in Acaster.[1]

Swunewro Cumb. 1211 Ped. fin., near Ainstable or Blencarn; not identifiable.[2]

Theuetweitwra Yo. 1235-55 Cockers. Ch.; near Sedbergh.[3]

Ulcotwra Cumb. 1486 C. Inq.; now Ulcat Row, near Dacre.[4]

Westferiwra Li. 1198 Revesby ch., Mon. V, 1328 Pat. R.; near Revesby.[5]

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joins the Hagg Beck half a mile from the place. This M.E. *Swindale* may possibly be a parallel on English soil to the O.Norw. place-name *Swindal* (E.J., &c.; found in several parts of southern Norway), which is believed to contain an old river-name **Svinn* or **Svinna*, from the adj. *svinnr* in its sense of 'quick, swift' (Rygh, Elvenavne p. 258). It need hardly be added that, formally, the M.E. *Swindale* can also be explained from M.E. *swīn* or O.Scand. *svín* 'swine'.

[1] From an unrecorded O.W.Scand. **svína-garðr* 'an enclosure for swine'.

[2] There seems to be no English or Scand. word from which the 1st mem., in its recorded form, could be explained. Perhaps *Swune-* is a misspelling for **Swine-*, representing M.E. *swīn* or O.Scand. *svín* 'swine'? Cf. preceding name.

[3] From the place-name *Theuethwait*, for which see above, p. 125.

[4] From an obsolete place-name *Ulcot*, which contains O.E., M.E. *cot*, or O.W.Scand. *kot* 'a cottage, hut, small farm' (cf. *Westcoterby*, p. 18). The former member is hardly recognizable on account of the late appearance of the only spelling on record; it may be from O.E., M.E. *ūle* 'owl', or from O.W.Scand. *ulfr* 'wolf', for which compare Ulthwaite, above, p. 126,

[5] 1st mem. is M.E. *west* or O.W.Scand. *vest-* (O.Swed. *væst-*) 'west'; 2nd mem. is M.E. *fery* in the sense of 'a ferry-boat', or 'a passage or place where boats pass over a river', &c. Of M.E. *fery* there is, according to N.E.D., no instance found in literature before the 15th century, nor is any O.E. representative known. The N.E.D. considers it as a deverbative noun, from M.E. *fery, fere, ferien* (O.E. *ferian*) 'to carry, convey, transport'. But even though that be true, there can be no doubt that the word is, at least in part, an adaptation of O.W.Scand. *ferja*, O.Swed. *färia*, e.Dan. *ferie* 'ferry-boat'. We may conclude as much from the fact that it occurs as early as the 12th cent. in some place-names which belong to conspicuously Scand. portions of Yo. and Li. and are certainly Scand. in form. These names will be given in full in Part II; here may be mentioned *Feriebi, Feribi, Suth ferebi* Li. 12. cent., *Feryby, Suthferibi* 13. cent. Br. Mus., now South Ferriby; *Ferebi* Yo. DoB., *Feribi* 1189 Ch. R. (Inspex. 1308) &c., now North Ferriby. These two places are situated opposite to each other, on each bank of the Humber. I cannot exactly locate *Westferiwra*, which must in the Middle Ages have been within the borders of the great Fen district.

Waitewra Cumb. 1190-1200 Cockers. Ch.; *Waytwra* 1318 Conishead ch., Mon. VI,1; in Whitbeck.[1]

Wyte Wra Cumb. 1234 P. Pipe R.[2]

Wytewra Lanc. 1235 Lanc. Fin. Conc.; now Whiteray, in Tatham.[2]

Ch. 6. Names containing O.Scand. ȳ.

On O.Scand. *ȳ*, developed from Teutonic *eu, iu* through *i*- or *R*-mutation (*R* < *z*; cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gram. §§ 60, 68), as opposed to the corresponding M.E. *ē* (< Angl. *īo*, *ēo*, *ē*; W. Sax. had *īe*, *ī*, *ȳ*), and serving as a criterion of Scand. loan in M.E., see Björkman, Loan-words, p. 114 f. with references.

The only place-name element which belongs to this chapter[3] is M.E. *mire* < O.W.Scand. *mýrr* f. 'moor, bog, swampy ground'; O.Swed., Dan. *myr*. Frequent in place-names in Scandinavia. Teutonic base **miuzjō* or **miuzī*. Cognates are probably O.E. *mēos* 'moss', and OHG. *mios*, MHG. and German *mies* 'moos, sumpfgegend, moor' (Grimm's Wörterbuch). All the M.E. names that contain the Scand. word are to be found in northern England. I have noted the following instances:

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[1] 1st mem. may possibly represent O.W.Scand. *hveiti* 'wheat' (cf. above p. 129) since the rendering of etymological initial *hw (wh)* by *w* is well instanced in the nomenclature of the Cockers. Ch. and some other contemporary northern records (owing to south Engl. influence?). Or else it may be from O.W.Scand. *veit* 'a trench, ditch', or *veita* 'a trench, a trenched meadow' (Fritzner). — It is possible that the same remarks hold good of the 1st mem. of the place-name *Waitehil* Yo. 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch., in Broughton in Cleveland, and *Waytehil* Yo. 12. cent. Whitby Ch., in Liverton. Or are we concerned here with M.E. *waite* 'a watchman, sentinel' (from O.Fr. *waite* 'a guard')? A person of the name of *Rogerus Waite* occurs in a deed of A.D. 1211-12 Guisbrough Ch., one *Adam le Wayte* 1255 Nhb. Ass. R., and some other, later instances of the word used as a pers. name are to be found in Bardsley. Still this latter alternative seems to me less worthy of acceptance.

[2] 1st mem. can be O.W.Scand. *hvítr* or O.E., M.E. *hwīt* 'white' (cf. preceding foot-note), which adj. is often found in field-names of a similar description. But it might also be from O.W.Scand *viti* 'a beacon, kindled as a warning signal'. These are the only words that appear to give anything like a reasonable meaning to the name as a whole.

[3] Compare, however, next page, foot-note 6.

Mira Cumb. c. 1214 Wetherhal Reg.; in Cumwhitton. A Latinized form. Cf. the O.Norw. *J Myrum, J Myre* E.J.

Le Mireheved Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Glaisdale.[1]

Mirland Cumb. c. 1210 f. Wetherhal Reg.; in Cumwhitton.[2]

Mirepittes Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Marton.[3]

Mirthuait Lanc. 1250-68 Cockers. Ch.; in Whittington.[4]

[**Myrehage** *[boscum]* Yo. 1538 Rievaulx Ch.; in Bilsdale.[5]]

Mirefelt Yo. DoB.; *Mirefeld* 1201 Rot. Canc., 1245 Gray's Reg.; *Myrfeld* Kirkby, No. vill., 1342 Pat. R.; *Mirfeld* 1202 Ped. fin. Eb., 1287 C. Inq., 1302 Feod. mil. Eb., 1351 Cl. R., 1378 Poll-tax, 1382 Pat. R., 1397 Calv. ch.; now Mirfield.[6]

Mirscho Lanc. 1252 Pat. R., 1262 Lanc. Inq.; *Miresco'* 1265, *Mirescowe* 1297 Lanc. Inq.; *Mireschoghe* 1320-46 Lanc. Surv.; *Mirscogh* 1328 Cl. R.; *Mireschogh* 1397 Pat. R.; now Myerscough.[7]

Mireton Cumb. 1334 Cal. Inq.; near Cleator?[8]

Arkilmire Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *Arke[l]mire* 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; near Normanby.[9]

Blamyre Cumb., see above p. 178.

Brademire Yo. 1259 C. Inq.; in Burstwick.[10]

Braythemyre Cumb. 1334 C. Inq.; *Brathemyre* 1343, *Braithemyre* 1344 Cl. R.; *Brathemir* 1398 Cal. Inq.; in Ennerdale.[11]

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[1] 2nd mem. is M.E. *heved* 'head, the upper end of something'; cf. p. 37 n. 3.

[2] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. or M.E. *land:* (a piece of) land.

[3] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *pyttr* 'a pit, pool', or M.E. *pit* (O.E. *pytt*), N.E. pit.

[4] 2nd mem. O.W.Scand. *þveit,* for which see p. 96 f. Cf. p. 118 n. 2.

[5] As for 2nd mem. see p. 21 n. 3.

[6] 2nd mem. O.E., M.E. *feld* 'field'. With regard to *Mirefelt, Myrehage, Mireschogh* and *Mireton* it is possible, from a formal point of view, that the 1st mem. is, instead, from M.E. *mire* 'an ant', borrowed from Scand.; cf. Björkman, Loan-words, p. 115. In any case the names are to be included here.

[7] 2nd mem. is M.E. *scogh* < O.W.Scand. *skógr* 'a wood'. Cf. Scorbrough, above, p. 15. Of the same origin seems to be the place-name *Mirescog* in the Isle of Man, mentioned by Moore, Manx Names p. 200.

[8] As for 2nd mem. see p. 7 n. 1.

[9] 1st mem. is from the O.E.Scand. man's name *Arkil,* O.W.Scand. *Arnkell, Arnketell;* very common in Scand. England.

[10] O.E., M.E. *brād* 'broad'. Compare the next name.

[11] O.W.Scand. *breiðr* 'broad'; cf. Brayton &c., above p. 26 f. The name is identical in form with the Icelandic *a Breiða myri* La.

Braithmyre Yo. 13. cent. Richmond Reg.; not identifiable.[1]

Le Braithmyre Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; probably identical with *Braithemire, Brayrmyre* 13. cent. Lanc. ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[1]

Elvemire Yo. 1260 Rievaulx Ch.; near Raysdale.[2]

Engmyre Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; probably identical with *Engemyr, Engemyre, Ingemyre, Yngemyre* 13. cent. Lanc. ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[3]

Gaytesigemire Cumb. c. 1210 Wetherhal Reg.[4]

Gosemire Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[5]

Le Colemyre Cumb. l. 13. cent. Hodgson's ch.; in Wigton.[6]

Crossemyre Lanc. c. 1320 Lanc. Inq.; in Bolton le Sands.[7]

Natewramire, *Natwarmire, Natwramire* Lanc. 13. cent. Lanc. ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[8]

Prestemire, *Prestmirebanke* Wm. 1246-49 Cockers. Ch.; in Sedgwick.[9]

Ranthemire Yo., see above, p. 161.

Tranemyre Cumb. c. 1259 Wetherhal Reg.; in Wetherhal.[10]

Turfmire, *-myre* Yo. 13. cent. Guisbr. Ch.; in Guisbrough.[11]

Tikwitmyre Lanc. 1320-46 Lanc. Surv.; *Tewhitmyre* 14. cent.(?) Furness Ch.; near Silverdale.[12]

Ullayk mire Cumb. 1308 C. Inq. See the place-name Ullock, above p. 128.

Walmyre Yo. Kirkby; *Walmire* No. vill.; now Walmire.[13]

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[1] As for the 1st mem. see preceding foot-note.

[2] Apparently from O.W.Scand. *elfr* 'a river, stream' (O.Swed. *ælf*, Dan. *elv*). The place designated seems to be near the upper course of the river Seph.

[3] O.W.Scand. *enge* n., *eng* f. 'a meadow'. O.E.Scand. *æng*.

[4] The remainder of the name is explained above p. 53 n. 5.

[5] O.E., M.E. *gōs* 'goose'.

[6] Perhaps from O.Scand. *Koli*, pers. name. See LIND, and *Coli* in BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[7] 1st mem. as in Crossthwaite, above p. 115.

[8] 1st component is the place-name *Natewra* which is discussed above, p. 202.

[9] From O.W.Scand. *prestr*, or M.E. *prest* (O.E. *prēost*) 'priest'.

[10] O.W.Scand. *trani, trana* 'a crane'. Cf. *Tranthewayt*, p. 126.

[11] O.E., M.E. *turf* 'turf, sod'. O.Scand. *torf*.

[12] The proper form and origin of the 1st mem. is most uncertain. Perhaps the whole name is contracted from **þe white myre*, with the spirant *þ-* here represented by *t* owing to assimilation to a preceding *at*. Cf. the pers. name *William Atte Well (ad fontem)* 1316 Ch. R. If that be so, I suppose *kw* in *Tikwit-* to be miswritten for *hw*, since for O.E. or O.Scand. initial *hw* I have, from Lancashire records, otherwise only noted the spellings *hw (wh), qu,* and *w*.

[13] From M.E. *wal* (O.E. *weall*) 'a wall, a steep hill, cliff'.

Waltermire Lanc. 13. cent. (?) Furness Ch.; near the river Crake.[1]
Wedholmmyre Lanc. 13. cent. Lanc. ch.; in Bolton le Sands.[2]
Wragmire Cumb. 1362 Test. Karl. Not identifiable.[3]

Ch. 7. Names containing O.Scand. ŏ, ō.

1) On O.Scand. *ŏ* < Teutonic *u* before a lost nasal consonant and answering to O.E. *ū* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, see BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words, p. 113, with references. Here belongs

Tofth Cambr. DoB.; *Tofte, Thofte* 1302-03 F.A.; *Toft* 1316 f. F.A., 1359 f. Cal. Inq., 1392 Pat. R., 1489 C. Inq., &c.; *Toft, Tofte* 1428 F.A.; *Thofftes* 1492 C. Inq.; now Toft.

From O.E., M.E. *toft* 'a piece of ground, a slightly elevated, exposed site, campus', an adoption of O.Dan. *toft* 'an enclosed home-field' (*husætoft*, see LUND; cf. O.Swed. *tomt, topt, toft*), or O.W.Scand. *topt, tupt* 'a piece of ground, messuage, homestead, a place marked out for a house or building'. This word is derived by BUGGE in Paul & Braune's Beiträge XXI, p. 425 f. from a base **tumfetiz*, &c., by NOREEN, Altschwed. Gram. § 260, from **tumffi-*, and by FALK & TORP, Norw. Dänisches Etym. Wörterb., from **tumftô*. The meaning of 'messuage', i. e. a portion of land, intended to be occupied, or actually occupied, as a site for a dwelling-house and its appurtenances, is to be assigned to the Latinized forms *toftum, tofta*, which are of constant occurrence in Old and Middle English records of various descriptions, especially in charters transferring landed property. In such documents the phrase *cum tofto et crofto* is met with over and over again.[4]

As a place-name element the O.Scand. *toft, topt* is frequently found in Norway and, more particularly, in Denmark and Swe-

[1] From the common M.E. pers. name *Walter*, for which see BARDSLEY.

[2] 1st component is the place-name *Wedholm* which occurs in contemporary charters ibid.; it seems to contain O.W.Scand. *holmr, holmi* (see p. 141 n. 4), and perhaps M.E. *weed* < O.E. *wēod* 'weed', or O.W.Scand. *viðr* 'a wood, felled trees', &c.; cf. p. 179 n. 2.

[3] Perhaps from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ragi* (< **Wragi*), O.Dan. *Wraghi*, which is found in the Lincolnshire place-name *Wragheby* (see above p. 197 n.). Or *Wrag-* might possibly be an orthographical error for *Wrang-*, in which case it is to be explained as in *Wrangeflat*, see l. c.

[4] O.E., M.E. *croft* meant a piece of enclosed ground, used for tillage or pasture; in most localities a small piece of arable land adjacent to a house. See further N.E.D.

den (see the indexes of Rygh, N.G., Styffe, Skandinavien under unionstiden, and SRD.). Some instances exist, moreover, in Iceland (La.), in the Shetlands (Jakobsen, Shetl. Stednavne), in Scotland (Johnston, Place-names of Scotland, Introd. p. 68), in the Faroes (see Vibe in the Norwegian Historisk Tidsskrift II, 5 (1886) p. 68); besides, there are a great number in Normandy, for examples of which see below. From Mediæval England I have noted more than a hundred place-names containing the word, which are scattered nearly all over Scand. England, from Suffolk in the south up to Northumberland, Durham and Westmoreland in the north; the last three counties, together with Lancashire and Cumberland, have only one instance each. The scarceness of the word in the local nomenclature of the northern counties is noteworthy in view of the fact that N.E. dial. *toft* (*tuft* Yo.) is in general use even in that part of the country (see E.D.D.). Of the material given below about four fifths belong to Yo., Li. and Norf.

An examination of the compounded M.E. *toft*-names will show that comparatively many of them contain a native word as 1st member, either an appellative or a pers. name. All things considered it is clear that *toft* was adopted in the native language at a very early period.[1] Furthermore it is interesting to notice that exact parallels to several of these names can be cited from the numerous *toft*-names of Normandy, the total number of which is put down by Taylor (Words and places, p. 123) at about one hundred. Among the early Norman instances adduced by Fabricius (p. 312 f.) we find *Breitot*, *Hotot*, *Esketot* or *Esquetot*, *Langetot*, *Wictot* or *Wigetot*, &c., all of which re-appear in Scand. England. As may be seen from these spellings, the Norman

[1] The word seems to have been introduced here in the form *toft* and prior to the O.W.Scand. transition *ft* > *pt*, which according to Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 232, was in operation about A.D. 1000. When that is so, and the word occurs both in O.W.Scand. and O.E.Scand. local nomenclature, all attempts at deciding whether the English *toft*-names are of West or East Scand. extraction are doomed to failure from the outset, the more as the 1st members of the compound names are anything but suggestive on this point. Cf. in connection with this some remarks on the Norman *toft*-names given in the course of the discussion of the Scand. place-names in Normandy which was carried on between Tegnér in Nordisk tidskrift 7 (1884) p. 183-214, 652-65, and Vibe ib. 535-54, in the Norw. Historisk tidsskrift II, 5 (1886), p. 51-80, and G. Storm ib. II, 6 (1888), p. 236-51.

form of *toft* was *tot* — with the *f* regularly dropped before the consonant *t* — which, indeed, occurs in all the names of the present kind given by Fabricius (l. c.) and Joret (p. 52-54). Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the same *tot* is used repeatedly in the place-name spellings of Domesday, which is wholly in keeping with the Norman orthography of this record, while it is hardly ever found in our subsequent sources. One remarkable exception to this rule is the name Stowlangtoft (see below), of which the forms in *-tot* are recorded throughout the Middle English period. Whether this conservatism in the spelling is referrible to the French nationality of the lords of the manor of S., as is conjectured by Zachrisson (p. 13), is uncertain, but it seems rather plausible.[1] It is this Norman *-tot* which Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 324 f. mistakes for a native dialectal variant of *toft*. A form *tot* of the latter origin is not evidenced either in M.E. or in the materials of E.D.D. The excrescent *h*'s in the spellings *Thoft*, *Tofth*, which appear sporadically in early M.E. documents, are likewise due to Norman influence; the interchange of the symbols *th* and *t* for etymological *t* is well exemplified in contemporary texts with marked Norman peculiarities; cf. Zachrisson p. 47 f. To Norman sound-development should be ascribed, too, the inorganic *s* prefixed in the Domesday forms *Stofftam* (now West Tofts, Norf.) and *Stofsta* (now Bircham Tofts, ib.); cf. on these and similar cases Zachrisson p. 68 f. To the comments of Z. it may only be objected that the initial *s* in *Stofftam* probably does not depend on the transfer of the final sounds of a supposed prefixed *West-*, seeing that the first instance of the name with this word added occurs only in 1334, whereas the earlier forms in the Hundred Rolls, the Subsidy Rolls of 1302 and the Nomina Villarum of 1316 appear without it. — We now pass on to the remaining material:

Toft Li. 1303 f. F.A.; *Tofte juxta Witham* 1367, *Toft juxta Brunne* 1369 Cal. Inq.; *Toft iuxta Whitham* 1404 Br.Mus.; now Toft, near Witham.

Toft Li. c. 1200 f., *Thoft* 1272-1327 Br.Mus.; *Toft* 1286 C. Inq. &c.; *Toftes* Plac. Warr.; *Toftneuton* 1334 Pat. R., 1335 Br.Mus.; *Tofteneuton* 1397 Pat. R.; now Toft next Newton.

[1] At the time of Nomina Villarum, A.D. 1316, S. was held by *Galfridus Pecche;* a son of his, *Johannes P.,* is mentioned in the Subsidy Rolls of 1346.

Toft Li. 1183 Br.Mus., Rot. Hug., Rot. H., 1316 F.A. &c.; *Thoft* 1256 C. Inq.; *Toft juxta Freston* 1364 Br.Mus., 1376 Cal. Inq.; *Toft by Freston* 1435 Pat. R.; now Fishtoft.

Toft Nhb. 1397 Pat. R.; in Elsdon.

Toft Norf. DoB.; *Thoftes* e. Hen. III. Br.Mus.;? *Tofts Monachorum* 1285 Cal. Inq.; *Toft* 1316 F.A., 1320 f. Pat. R.; *Toftes, Munkestoftes* 1349 Pat. R.; *Toft monachorum* 1334 Norf. Ass., 1386, 1419 Br.Mus.; now Toft Monks.[1]

Toftes, *Totes* Norf. DoB.; *Toftes* Rot. H., 1319 f. Pat. R., 1334 Norf. Ass.; now Toft Trees.

Tofftes Norf. DoB.; *Rokelintoftes* 1285, *Rokelind & Tofts* 1288 Cal. fin.; *Rokelund & Toftes* Rot. H.; *Toftes* T.N., 1323 f. Cal. Inq.; *Rokelond Toftes* 1340 Cal. fin.; *Rokelound Toftes* 1366 f., *Rokelondtoft,* &c. 15th cent. Br.Mus.; now Rockland Tofts.[2]

Stofsta Norf. DoB.; *Toftes* Rot. H., 1334 Norf. Ass., 1302 f., 1428 F.A.; *Brechamtoftes* 1313 Cl. R.; *Bricham, Brecham Toftes* 1394-95 Cal. Inq.; *Brycham Toftys* 1495 C. Inq.; now Bircham Tofts.

Stofftam, *Toftes* Norf. DoB.; *Toftes* Rot. H., 1316 f. F.A., 1419 Br.Mus.; *Toftis* 1302, *Toftys* 1428 F.A.; *Westetoftes* 1334 Norf. Ass.; *Westoftes* 1378 Pat. R.; *Westoftys* 1422 Br.Mus.; *West Toftez* 1489 C. Inq.; now West Tofts.

Toft Suff. DoB. — Now lost? Near Ipswich.

Thoft Warw. 1374 Cat.A.D.; now Toft, in Dunchurch.

Tofthous Yo. 1291 A.Plac.; *Tofthouse, Thouhouse* Kirkby now lost. Near Harewood.[3]

Tofto Swengulf Suff. 1198 Feet of fines; near Livermere and Stowlangtoft?[4]

[1] In the reign of William Rufus the manor of Toft was granted to the abbey of Préaux in Normandy, to which it belonged for about two centuries as an alien cell. The abbey kept a few monks there; hence the qualification of the name. Cf. Vict. Hist. Norf. II p. 464.

[2] The present name Rockland is in DoB. *Rokelund, -lunt, -lun* = *Rokelound* 1319 Pat. R. &c., and identical in form with the O.Dan. *Rokœlund* LCD. This seems to be from an O.Dan. representative of the e. Dan. *rog* 'rook'; O.Swed. *roka,* O.W.Scand. *hrókr,* M.E. *roke* < O.E. *hrōc.* 2nd mem. is O.Dan. *lund* 'grove', for which cf. under Londonthorpe p. 12.

[3] This name is etymologically identical with N.E. dial. *toft-house* 'the house attached to a toft' (E.D.D.).

[4] The qualification is obviously a misspelling for **Swegnulf,* from a hitherto unrecorded O.W.Scand. man's name **Sveinolfr.* As to the type cf. O.W.Scand. *Sveinbiǫrn.*

Acketoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[1]

Albritoftis Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[2]

Ailwintoft Yo. 1310 Ch. R.; in Scaling near Easington, N. Riding.[3]

Aldwinetoftes, *Aldenetoftes* Yo. 13. cent., *Aldenetoftes* 1332 Rievaulx Ch.; now Antofts.[4]

Altoftis Yo. 1230 Ch. R.; *Altofte* 1294 ib.; *Altoftes* Rot. H., 1313 f. Pat. R., No. vill., 1327 C. Inq., 1332 f. Kirkstall Ch.; *Altoft* 1334 Pat. R.; now Altofts, in Normanton.[5]

Aleinetoften Yo. 1204 Rot. Ch.; *Aleinstoftes* Rot. H.; *Aleintoftes* 1297 Yo. inq., 1372 Cal. Inq.; near Scalby and Scarborough.[6]

Algaretoft Li. 1242 Li. rec. Not identifiable.[7]

Alwaldtoftes Yo. 1292 Pat. R.; *Alwaldetoftes* 1295, *Allewartoftes* 1296 Yo. inq.; near Inglethwaite?[8]

Arnaldetoftes Yo. 12. cent. f. Whitby Ch.; near Ayresome.[9]

Aslactoft Li., see p. 174.

Aswicktoftine, *Aswicktoft* Li. C.S. 461 (851) (Kemble, C.D. 265, has the erroneous readings *Aswyktofthirne*, and *Asuuyktoft*); *Asuuiktoft* C.D. 233 (833), *Aswyktoft* ib. 420 (948), *Asendtoft* ib. 520 (966) (C.S. has resp. *Aswictoft*, *Aswicktoft*, *Asustoft*); *Asenwatoft* 1227 Ch. R.; *Adsenwiktoft* Plac. Warr.; near Pinchbeck?[10]

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[1] 1st mem. seems to be a native man's name which occurs in the same record: *Accha de Swinesheved*; cf. *Acka, Acke,* ib. < O.E. *Acca.*

[2] From O.W.Scand. *Albrikt,* pers. name (see Lind), or O.E. *Ealdbeorht, Aldberht, Aldbriht.*

[3] 1st mem. is the M.E. pers. name *Aylwine,* for which cf. above p. 192 n. 6.

[4] 1st mem. is O.E. *Ealdwine, Aldwini,* pers. name. From this is, perhaps, *Aldene* in DoB. (cf. *Aldenescheles* p. 190). M.E. *Aldewyn, Aldyn,* &c.; cf. Bardsley, under *Alden.* On the loss of the *w* see p. 192 n. 6.

[5] Of doubtful origin. Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *ǫlr,* O.Swed. *al,* c. Dan. *al* 'the alder-tree'; or from M.E. *ald* < O.E. *eald* 'old'?

[6] 1st mem. is the common M.E. pers. name *Aleyn, Alayn,* of which numerous instances are to be found in early M.E. records. Cf. *Aleynscheles* p. 190. Bardsley (q. v.) states it to be of Norman introduction.

[7] From O.E. *Ælfgar,* pers. name, or anglicized from the corresponding O.Dan. *Alger*, O.W.Scand. *Álfgeirr;* cf. Algarkirk, above p. 20 f.

[8] From O.W.Scand. *Ǫlvaldi,* O.Dan. *Alwaldi,* pers. name; or, possibly, O.E. *Ælfweald.* Cf. *Alwaldeby,* p. 175 n. 3.

[9] From O.W.Scand. *Arnaldr,* O.E.Scand. *Arnald,* pers. name; or M.E. *Arnald* < O.E. *Earnweald* (on record?)? On the O.E. loss of *w* in *-weald* (in composition) cf. Sievers, Ags. Gram. § 173 Anm. 3, and, above, foot-note 4.

[10] As for the spurious charters from which all the O.E. spellings above are quoted see Appendix A. The 1st component is of obscure origin, and the only point certain is that it contains O.W.Scand. *vík* 'a creek,

Beltot Li. DoB.; *Beltoft* 1299 Cl. R., 1315 C. Inq., 1316, 1431 F.A., 1362 Cal. Inq.; *Beltofte* 1349 f. Cal. Inq.; in Belton.[1]

Berberdetoft Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Loftus.[2]

Blaketofte Yo. 1198-99 Ped. fin. Eb.; *Blaketoft* 13. cent. Rievaulx Ch., Rot. H., Kirkby, 1301 f. Pat. R.; *Blaktofte* 1325, 1466 Pat. R.; now Blacktoft.[3]

Blakemannis Thofth Li. 1163-81 (Inspex. 1316) Ch. R.; in Wigtoft?[4]

Boletoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[5]

Branzthoft Li. c. 1150 Br.Mus.; in Killingholme?[6]

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inlet' (see p. 145 n. 1); the place indicated was in the ancient Fen district. The former element looks in some instances like O.W.Scand. *áss* 'ridge of elevation' (see *Astorp*, p. 169). Noteworthy is the spelling *Aswicktoftine;* this is the correct reading as I have ascertained by an examination of the MS. in the Brit. Museum. If that form does not depend on miswriting, it appears that the O.French diminutive suffix *-in* has here been somewhat arbitrarily appended to the original name. Cf. on this suffix BJÖRKMAN, Mittelengl. Personennamen auf *-īn,* Arch. 123, p. 24, and on some other cases of a similar addition (in DoB.) ZACHRISSON p. 12.

[1] On the face of it, this name would seem to be identical in origin with the Norman *Beltot, Beautot* (see FABRICIUS p. 316, and JORET p. 53 n. 3; from O.French *bel*), yet, in view of the fact that Beltoft lies in the parish of Belton, it is probable that the 1st mem. was the same in both the names. Of Belton I have only found the spelling *Belton[e],* from DoB. onwards. The etymology of 1st mem. is very hard to decide; it may be a pers. name from the same base as that which enters into the O.E. *æt Bellanforde* 848 THORPE, Dipl., now Belford, Glo.; or perhaps originally from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Beli* (gen. normally *Belia,* see LIND) which occurs perhaps in M.E. *Beleton* Le. 1241 Ch. R., 1273 C. Inq., *Belton* 1244 Ch. R., now Belton, and without doubt in *Belebi* Yo. DoB., *Beleby* 1259 C. Inq., No. vill., now Beilby.

[2] Perhaps a corrupt spelling of O.E. *Beorward,* pers. name?

[3] From M.E. *blac* (O.E. *blæc*) 'black', or M.E. (northern) *blake* < O.E. *blāc* 'pale, pallid, wan', also implying deficiency or loss of 'the full green of vegetation' (N.E.D.).

[4] From the native pers. name *Blacman, Blacheman,* in DoB. &c. See further SEARLE, and BARDSLEY.

[5] 1st mem. may be from O.W.Scand. *boli* 'a bull' (cf. *Buledailes* p. 32), also recorded as a surname. Or is it from O.W.Scand. *bolr, bulr* (O.Swed. *bol, bul*) 'the trunk of a tree', adopted in M.E. as *bol* (BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words p. 205)? Also O.W.Scand. *ból* (O.E.Scand. *bol,* cf. SÖDERWALL) 'a farm, abode', *bóli* 'a tenant', might, from a formal point of view, be taken into account.

[6] Probably from the O.W.Scand. man's name *Brandr* (O.E.Scand. *Brand*); on O.E. *Brand* cf. BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen, p. 30.

Breietoft Li. DoB. &c. see above p. 26. Cf. *Breitot* in Normandy, FABRICIUS p. 315.

Bremestoft Norf., see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[1]

[**Brothertofte** Li. 1545 Li. wills[II]; now Brothertoft.][2]

Bruntoft, *Bruntoftes, Bromptoft* Durh. e. 14. cent. Durh. Account R.; *Burnetoft* 1389 Pat. R.; *Bruntofte* uncertain date, Brinkburn Ch.; *Brumptofte* 1430 FPD.; now Bruntoft, in Elwick Hall.[3]

Bulewalestoft Suff. 1198 Feet of fines; in Hemingstone?[4]

Burtoft Li. C.D. 1026 (810), 420 (948), 520 (966), DoB.; *Burtofth* 1163-81 (Inspex. 1316) Ch. R.; *Burtofte* 1353 Cal. Inq.; now Burtoft, near Swineshead.[5]

Edwinestofta Norf., see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[6]

Eyrichtoftis Li. 1316 Ch. R.; near Swineshead.[7]

Eltoftes Yo. Kirkby; now Eltofts in Thorner.[8]

Ethstanestoft Norf., see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[9]

Elvinetoft Li. 1314 Ch. R.; in Huttoft?[10]

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[1] 1st mem. is the O.E. man's name *Brem* which enters into the place-name *æt Bremesgræfan* c. 820 THORPE, Dipl., now Bromsgrove, Worc.

[2] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Bróðir,* O.Dan. *Brothær,* O.Swed. *Brodher,* or its native equivalent O.E. *Brothor.*

[3] From O.W.Scand. *brunnr (bruðr),* O.Swed. *brunder,* O.Dan. *brun* 'a spring, fountain'; hardly from O.E. *burn, burna* &c., M.E. *burne* 'a stream, brook'.

[4] 1st mem. is of very uncertain origin. Perhaps from an O.E. pers. name **Bulewald* (cf. O.E. *Buleferth*)? In that case we have to look upon the spelling *Bulewales-* for **Bulewaldes-* in the same manner as *-fel* < *-feld* in DoB.; see above p. 177 n. 1.

[5] 1st mem. is no doubt from O.Scand. *búr* 'a storehouse' (see under *Burthweith,* above p. 106). Cf. O.Swed. *burtomt* 'a place marked out for a *bur*'. — As for the above-mentioned O.E. charters cf. Appendix A.

[6] From the common M.E. man's name *Edwine* < O.E. *Ēadwine.*

[7] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Eiríkr,* O.Swed. *Eriker,* O.Dan. *Erik.* Among the land-holders in Li. in the time of Edward the Confessor, DoB. mentions a certain *Eiric.* See further BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[8] From the O.Dan. man's name *Elli?*

[9] Probably from the common O.E. man's name *Ēadstān.* The *th* in the place-name had probably the phonetic value of [t]; already in O.E. we meet with the evidently phonetic spelling *Eatstan* (see SEARLE, and MÜLLER in Palaestra IX, p. 29). On M.E. *th,* frequently used in the orthography for etymological *t,* cf. ZACHRISSON, p. 47 f.

[10] From the M.E. pers. name *Elwyne,* probably < O.E. *Æthelwine,* see ZACHRISSON p. 110, and above p. 192 n. 6.

Estofte Yo. 1251 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Eshetoft* Rot. H.; *Esketoft* 1304 Selby Reg., Mon. III; *Escetoftes* 1327 C. Inq.; *Estoft* 1252 &c. Selby Ch., 1304 Pat. R., Plac. Warr., No. vill., 1345 Cal. Inq.; now Eastoft.[1]

Esketoft Li. c. 1200, *Eske-*, *Esktoft* 13. cent., *Estoft* 13. cent. &c. Selby Ch.; *Est Toft* 1316 F.A.; now Eastoft, in Crowle.[1]

Flotesmanestoft Norf. 1195 Feet of fines; near Wolterton?[2]

Forestoftes Cumb. 1242, *Fortoftis* 1243 P. Pipe R. Now lost?[3]

Gangetoft Li. 1242 Li. rec. Not identifiable.[4]

Gelvrecote, *Celvrecot, Givertost* North. DoB.; *Gelvertoft* Surv. Hen. I.; *Gelvretoft, Gelvertoft* Rot. Hug.; *Jelver-, Yelvertoft* 1289 C. Inq.; *Gelver-, Jelver-, Jelverstoft* Rot. H.; *Jelvertoft* T.N.; *Gilverestoft* Tax. eccl.; *Yolvertoft* 1341 Cl. R., 1346 Pat. R.; *Yelvertoft* 1315 Cl. R., 1284 &c., 1428 F.A., 1446 Cat.A.D., 1480 Pat. R., &c.; now Yelvertoft.[5]

Germayntoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[6]

Gildetoft Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Crowle.[7]

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[1] Bartholomew's Gazetteer gives Eastoft Yo. in Adlingfleet par. (on the boundary of Li.), and Eastoft Li. in Crowle. On the maps I have only found the latter place marked, so it would seem that they are conterminous with each other, and originally had the name in common. The 1st mem. is, then, O.W.Scand. *eski* 'an ash-wood, ash-trees'; cf. above, *Eskewro* p. 200, and *Eskedayle* p. 32. Apparently the same name occurs in Normandy as *Esketot,* Fabricius p. 315.

[2] Probably an inaccurate rendering of the M.E. man's name *Flotemman* Yo. DoB., also recorded as a surname in Norf. 1428 F.A., and in the place-names *Flotemanebi* Yo. DoB. &c. (now Flotmanby), and *Flotemman Neuton* Norf. 1307 Cal. fin. (now Newton Flotman). In this M.E. *Floteman* have probably coalesced O.W.Scand. *flóttamaðr* 'a fugitive', and the native O.E. *flotman* 'a sailor, pirate'. There is no evidence of the former word having been used as a personal name in Scandinavia.

[3] Perhaps from the O.Scand. pers. name that is represented by the late O.Dan. *For* (Nielsen). But compare also the field-name *Fordeiles,* p. 32.

[4] From O.E. *gang* 'way, path, passage', or O.W.Scand. *gangr,* on which see under *Noutegange,* p. 149.

[5] Some spellings of this name are touched upon by Zachrisson p. 61, but he expresses no opinion on the etymology I can offer no word on record that might reasonably be suggested as 1st member.

[6] From the M.E. pers. name *Germayne,* borrowed from O.French. Bardsley gives some instances of the name from the 13. cent. onwards.

[7] On the presumption that the initial *G-* stands for a stopped sound, which there is certainly no reason to doubt, the 1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *gildi* (O.Swed. *gilde,* O.Dan. *gild*) 'a guild, confraternity'; and the whole compound is etymologically identical with O.Swed.

Gildhustoftes, *Gildhus toftas* Yo. 13. cent. Whitby Ch.; near Ellerby and Hinderwell.[1]

Gippetoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[2]

Girthetoft, *Girdestoft* Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[3]

Grisetoft Norf., see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin Norf.[4]

Gunnetoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Wigtoft.[5]

Habertoft Li. 1389 Pat. R.; *Abburtoft* 1431 F.A.; *Halbertoft* 1433, *Halbertofte* 1477 Pat. R.; now Habertoft, in Willoughby.[6]

Hafketelestofta Norf., see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[7]

gildis tompt (gillistompt) 'a ground-plot belonging to a guild'. Cf. the native O.E. *ȝild, ȝeȝyld,* M.E. *ȝild, yelde.* See further N.E.D., BJÖRKMAN, Loan-words p. 154, and next name.

[1] From O.W.Scand. *gildihús* 'a guild-hall, banqueting hall', O.Swed. *gildis hus, gildehus.* The same word is preserved in the place-names *Gildusdale* Yo. 1281 Ch. R., Kirkby, *Gyldhusdall* Kirkby, *Gildesdale* No. vill., in Warter (see further Kirkby p. 91 n.); and *Gildusker* Yo. 1294 Ch. R., near Sutton on the Forest (?). Some historical and linguistic materials regarding the origin and history of the guilds in Scandinavia and England have been collected in A. BUGGE, The earliest Guilds of Northmen in England, Norway and Denmark, in Sprogl. og hist. afhandl. viede S. Bugges minde, p. 197-209. To some questions discussed in this paper I hope soon to return in another connection.

[2] A land-holder of Swineshead called *Gippe Sterre* is mentioned in the same passage, and this name *Gippe* apparently forms the 1st member. It is, as it seems, a hypocoristic form of the popular M.E. man's name *Gilbert,* for which see BARDSLEY; as to the formation *Gippe* < *Gilbert* cf. O.E. *Wippa* < *Wigbeorht, Wigbeald,* and some similar continental Teut. cases collected in STARK, Kosenamen &c. p. 118 f.

[3] From O.W.Scand. *Gyrðr,* O.Swed. *Gyrdh,* O.Dan. *Gyrd,* pers. name. For some instances of the name recorded in O.E. see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[4] On the 1st mem. O.W.Scand. *gríss* &c. 'pig' see p. 109 n. 9. The word is recorded by BARDSLEY as occurring in Norf. as a surname from the 13. cent. onwards. Cf. below *Piggestoft.*

[5] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Gunni,* O.E.Scand. *Gunne,* or the corresponding female name *Gunna.* The former is recorded elsewhere in M.E., see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen.

[6] The original form of the first part of the name it is impossible to decide on account of the inconsistent spellings. Perhaps from O.W.Scand. *háhjarg* 'a high hill'?

[7] From an unrecorded O.W.Scand. man's name **Hafketill,* containing the same initial element as the recorded *Hafgrímr, Hafþórr, Hafsteinn,* &c. The first two compounds seem to have been in use in Scand. England, see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen, p. 60.

Halketoft Li. 1202 Li. rec.; now Halltoft, in Freiston.[1]

Haretoft Yo. No. vill., 1349 f. Cal. Inq.; now Hartoft.[2]

Hardemetetoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Kirton.[3]

Hertestaf Derb. DoB.; *Hertestofte* 1287 Cal. Inq.; now Hardstoft.[4]

Hertistoft Le. (?) 13th cent. (?) Croxton Reg., Mon. VI, 2; not identifiable.[4]

Herwardtoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Wigtoft.[5]

Hibaldestofte Yo. C.S. 1352 (963 ?); near Cawood.[6]

Hippetoft Li. Rot. H., T.N., 1316 Ch. R.; *Hippetofthall* 1371 Br.Mus.; *Hiptofthalle* 1376 Cal. Inq.; now Hiptoft Hall, in Freiston.[7]

Hundestoft Suff. Inq. El.; near Bawdsey or Eyke?[8]

Hunlouetoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[9]

Horninghetoft, *Hornincgetoft* Norf. DoB.; *Horningetoft* 1198 Cal. fin.; *Hornigetoft* 1248 C. Inq.; *Hornintoft* 1271 Cal. Rot. Ch.; *Horningtoft* 1290 Cl. R., 1316 f. F.A.; *Hornyngtoft* 1345 Cl. R., 1302, 1428 F.A., &c.; now Horningtoft.[10]

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[1] From M.E. *halke* < O.E. *healoc* 'a hollow, corner, bending'.

[2] From M.E. *hare* (O.E. *hara*), or O.Swed. *hari*, Dan. *hare* 'a hare'.

[3] M.E. *hard mete*, N.E. hard-meat 'corn and hay used as fodder, as opposed to grass'. Earliest quotation in N.E.D. is from A.D. 1481-1484. The E.D.D. records the word only from the dialect of the East Riding of Yo.

[4] M.E. *hert* (O.E. *heort, heorot*) 'a hart', here perhaps the surname *Hert*, which is recorded since the 13. cent. (BARDSLEY).

[5] From the O.W.Scand. man's name *Hervarðr* (O.Swed. *Hœrvardh*), or its native equivalent, O.E. *Hereweard*.

[6] M.E. *Hibald* < O.E. *Hyzebeald*, pers. name.

[7] 1st mem. seems to be M.E. *hippe* (O.E. *hype*) 'hip'; here used figuratively of a projecting piece of land of some form or other? In modern Scotch dialects *hip* is applied to a round eminence, &c., a shoulder or corner of a hill (E.D.D.). — Or from the M.E. pers. name *Hippe?* Cf. BARDSLEY, under Hipkin.

[8] O.E., M.E. *hund* 'hound', or O.W.Scand. *hundr*, O.Swed. *hunder*, O.Dan. *hund*. Here perhaps used as a surname.

[9] O.E. *Hunlaf*, pers. name.

[10] From the O.E. personal derivative **Horningas* or **Horning*, which can have been formed either on the appellative *horn* (in its original sense or transferred to some kind of locality or dwelling-place of a horn-like shape) or on the pers. name *Horn*. The derivative **Horning* occurs in several O.E. local names; see KEMBLE's Index. Or else from a similar derivative of O.Dan. **Horn*, **Horni*, O.Swed. **Horne* (see NIELSEN, and LUNDGREN; cf. also the O.Swed. place-name *Hyrninge*, in HELIQUIST).

Hotoft, *Hotot* Li. DoB.; *Hotoft* Surv. 1118, 1207 f. Li. rec., Rot. H., Tax. eccl., 1303 f. F.A., Plac. Warr., 1335 Pat. R., 1428 f. F.A., &c.; now Huttoft.[1]

Caletoft *(Sir Philip de)* Li. (?) 1268 (Inspex. 1291) Ch. R. Not identifiable.[2]

Capetoft *[Rainaldo de]* Yo. 12. cent. Rievaulx Ch.; not identifiable.[3]

Kinesmannestoft Norf. see Rye's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[4]

Kiptoftesic, *Kyptoftesich, Kiptoftesich* Yo. t. Hen. II., *Kiptoftsic* t. Rich. I. Rievaulx Ch.; near Pickering.[5]

[1] From O.W.Scand. *hór* 'high'; cf. further p. 111 n. 5, Habrough p. 180, and Huby, &c. p. 223 f. The name coincides in origin with the O.Norman *Hotot* (Fabricius, p. 316).

[2] Apparently from O.W.Scand. *kál,* O.E.Scand. *kal* 'cabbage'; the compound had then much the same meaning as N.E. dial. *plant-toft* 'a bed for rearing young coleworts or cabbages', and O.W.Scand. *kálgarðr,* N.E. dial. *kalegarth,* see further p. 183. The O.Norman place-name *Kaletot* was possibly of the same origin; cf. Fabricius, p. 314. On M.E. *cale,* &c., presumably Scand. loan, see above, p. 183.

[3] The etymology of the 1st mem. is most uncertain, the more so as the place cannot be identified. The only word that fits in exactly with the form on record is north. M.E. *kape,* south. M.E. *cape, cope* 'a cope, cloak with a hood, the special dress of a monk or friar', or its O.W.Scand. equivalent *kápa.* The latter word is assumed by Rygh, N.G. I, to enter into the O.Norw. place-name *Kapokot* E.J. — Or, after all, does the above *Cape-* stand for **Cappe-? Then it might be easily explained from O.W.Scand. *kappi* 'a warrior, champion', which, besides, occurred as a surname in Scand. (F. Jónsson, Tilnavne). Whether the M.E. pers. name *Roger Cappe* Yo. 1346 Pat. R. contains this word cannot be determined.

[4] 1st mem. is gen. of M.E. *kynnesman,* N.E. kinsman, here perhaps employed as a pers. name. It is identical with the late M.E. surname *Kynnesman,* which Bardsley regards as 'an imitative corruption' of the surname *Kyngesman,* but the evidence adduced by him in support is anything but conclusive, and the assumption, in my opinion, quite unnecessary.

[5] 1st mem. may be from O.W.Scand. *kippi* n., *kippa* f. 'a sheaf, bundle', Norw. dial. *kippe,* Swed. dial. *kippe, kippa.* Or from O.W.Scand. *kippa* f. 'a basket' (*kornkippa* 'a corn-sieve', Vigf.), or its English cognate O.E. *cȳpe,* M.E. *kype,* N.E. dial. (not in the north) *kipe* 'basket'. Thirdly it might be from a north. M.E. form of O.E. *cipp* 'a coulter, ploughshare', M.E. *chyppe,* N.E. (obsolete) chip. In this case we have here a parallel to the name *Culteracre,* see p. 153 n. 7. — For the 2nd component *sic,* see p. 72 n. 7.

Cnapetot Le. DoB.; *Knapetoft* 1284 F.A., Tax. eccl., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1338 Pat. R.; *Knaptoft* 1410 Pat. R., 1428 F.A.; now Knaptoft.[1]

Coketoft Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Eastoft.[2]

Collingtoft Yo. 1367 Calv. ch.[3]

Cotemannestoft Yo. Rot. H.; near Scalby?[4]

Langtoft Li. 806 (!) THORPE, Dipl., C.S. 365 (819), 409 (833), 461 (851), &c. cf. Appendix A; *Langetof* DoB.; *Langetoft* Wells' Vic. book, Rot. H., T.N., 1316 f. F.A., 1316 f. Pat. R.; *Langtoft* 1302, 1401 F.A., 1412 Pat. R.; now Langtoft.[5]

Langetou, *Langhetou* Yo. DoB.; *Langetoft* 1285 C. Inq., Kirkby, No. vill., 1298 f. Yo. doc., 1397, 1410 Pat. R.; *Langtofte* 1374 Cal. Inq.; now Langtoft.[5]

Levyngtoft Li. 1327 Cat.A.D. I; near High Burnham.[6]

Lewyntoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Asperton.[7]

Lefhenadtoftes, *[Levenethoftekelde, Levenadtoftkelde]* Yo 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[8]

Lothu Wistoft Suff. DoB.; *Lodewustoft* 1229 Ch. R.; *Lowystoft* Tax. eccl., 1334 Pat. R.; *Lowistoft* Rot. H.; *Loystoft* 1303 Pat. R.; *Lowys-, Loustoft* 1305 Suff. fines; *Loistoft* 1308 Ch. R.; *Louwystoft* 1333 Pat. R.; *Lowys-, Leystof* 1341, *Lewestoft* 1342 Cl. R.; *Leistoft* 1344 ib., 1352 f. Pat. R.; *Laystoft* 1353, 1401 Pat. R.; *Leystoft* 1348 f., 1400 Pat. R., 1353 Cl. R.; *Lowys-, Lo-*

[1] From O.W.Scand. *knapi* (O.Swed. *knape,* Dan. *knabe*) 'a servant boy, the valet of a king or great man', or M.E. *cnape* (O.E. *cnapa*) 'a boy'.

[2] From O.E., M.E. *coc* 'cock' (not the rare O.W.Scand. *kokr?* cf. this word in FRITZNER), or from the M.E. surname *Cok, Cocus* ('cook') which was of frequent occurrence in that part of the country, being well exemplified in the nomenclature of Selby Ch.

[3] 1st mem. can be from O.W.Scand. **Kollingr,* a patronymic derivative of the man's name *Kollr* (found in O.E. as *Coll;* see BJÖRKMAN, Personennamen), *Kolli;* or from the (native?) late O.E. *Colling,* pers. name.

[4] M.E. *cotman* 'the tenant of a cot or cottage, a cottager' (N.E.D.).

[5] O.W.Scand. *langr,* O.Swed. *langer,* O.Dan. *lang,* or M.E. *lang* 'long'. Cf. *Langetot* in Normandy, FABRICIUS p. 314. — Peter of Langtoft, the well-known 13th century chronicler, was born in the Yorkshire village of Langtoft, from which he derived his name.

[6] Perhaps from O.Dan. **Lewing,* a patronymic derivative of the man's name **Lew, Lewi.* Cf. *Levesbi,* &c. above, p. 70. Or from M.E. **Leving* < O.E. *Leofing.*

[7] M.E. *Lewin* < O.E. *Leofwine,* a common pers. name.

[8] From the M.E. man's name *Levenath,* recorded in Guisbrough Ch. from the neighbourhood of Ormesby. O.E. *Leofnoð, Leofenoð.*

wes-, *Lewystoft* 1435 Pat. R.; *Loestofte* 1444-55, *Lowystoft* 1458-1477 Ipswich wills; now Lowestoft.[1]

Mortofft Norf. DoB.; now lost. In Heydon.[2]

Nortot North. DoB.; *Nortoft* Surv. Hen. I., 1175-76 Pipe R., T.N., 1409 Cat.A.D.; *Norhtoft* 1269 C. Inq.; *Northtoftes* 1314 Cl. R.; *Northtoft* 1313 C. Inq., 1387 Cal. Inq., 1393 Br.Mus.; now Nortoft, in Guilsborough.[3]

Northtoft Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[3]

Offrichestoft Norf. see RYE'S list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[4]

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[1] The 1st mem. is somewhat puzzling, and the singular early spellings may invite various conjectures as to the etymology. On the presumption that the true original form is fairly accurately reproduced in DoB. — apart from the breaking up of the form — we might derive it from an early representative of the present pers. name Louis, Lewis. Then it is hardly the native O.E. name, considering that this is only recorded once, from Kent: *Hloðewig portgerefa* C.S. 1212 (968). It most likely embodies the more common O.W.Scand. equivalent *Hloðvér,* in the gen. case **Hloðvis* (inflected like an *a-* or *ia*-stem, see NOREEN, Altisl. Gram. § 350 Anm. 4, on the formal development ib. § 107, 2) as in the O.Norw. place-name *j Loduissætre* D.N. 2 (1314). OHG. *Hlodowicus;* an O.French equivalent is found as *Lodhuuigs* in the French version of the famous Strassburg oaths, A.D. 842. The *u*-vowel in the next spelling above, *Lodewus-,* may be due to a scribal mistake. With regard to the subsequent spellings *Lowis-, Lois-* with lost interdental spirant, they are typically French in form and wholly agree with continental French parallels of about the same date, of which may be cited: *Loewis* Ch. de Roland (l. 11th cent.); *Lowis* Gormund et Isembart, *Loeis* Aliscans (12th cent.); *Loeis, Loeys* (disyllabic) Enfance Vivien (13th cent.). The present English Louis, Lewis, is self-evidently of French origin; the earliest M.E. instances that I have noted occur in southern England towards the end of the 13th century: *John Lowis* 1278 f., *Robert Lewis, Lowys* 1285-88 Cl. R. &c.; see further the volumes of the Close and Patent Rolls. As to the mysterious side-form *Lewis* cf. the very defective material in BARDSLEY, with references.

[2] O.E., M.E. *mōr* 'moor, waste and damp land'. Cf. p. 87 n. 1.

[3] O.W.Scand. *norð-* (in compounds), O.Swed. *nordh,* e. Dan. *nord,* or M.E. *norð* 'north'.

[4] This is probably a misspelling or misreading for **Ossriches-,* gen. of the common O.E. man's name *Osric.* — A name **Offric* is as yet not evidenced; if it existed, it should be connected with the well-known O.E. *Offa,* and would, like this name, be of ambiguous origin. Cf. FÖRSTEMANN under the stem *Uf,* MÜLLER in Palaestra IX p. 57, and STARK, Kosenamen &c. p. 23.

Oretoftes Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; in Ormesby.[1]

Osgottoftes Li. 13. cent. (?) Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[2]

Oxintoftes Yo. 13. cent. Guisbrough Ch.; *Oxintoftis* 1386 Cal. Inq.; in Ormesby.[3]

Philiptoft Lanc. 1241 Cockers. Ch.; in Garstang.[4]

Piggestoft Norf. see RYE's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[5]

Rauentoft Yo. 1468 Ripon Mem.; near Bishop Thornton.[6]

Rafnestoft Li. 12. cent. Bullington ch., Mon. VI, 2; in Faldingworth.[6]

Raventoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[6]

Sandtofte Li. 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R.; now Sandtoft in Belton.[7]

Sibertod North. DoB.; *Sibertoft* Surv. Hen. I., 1214 R. Oblat., e. Hen. III. Br.Mus., 1278 Cat.A.D., Rot. H., 1315 f. Cl. R., 1316 F.A., 1341 Pat. R.; *Sybertoft* 1229 Ch. R.; *Siber-, Sybretoft* 1273 C. Inq.; *Sybertoft, Syberstot* Tax. eccl.; *Sybercroft* 1284 F.A.; *Sibertoft, Siptoft* T.N.; *Sibertofte* 1371 Cal. Inq.; now Sibbertoft.[8]

Scrapetoft Le. 1043 THORPE, Dipl.; *Scrapentot* DoB.; *Scraptoft* Rot. H.; *Scrapetoft* 1237 Le. doc., T.N., Tax. eccl., 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1303 f. Pat. R.; *Scraptofte* 1428 F.A.; &c.; now Scraptoft.[9]

Skertoftis Wm. c. 1234 Wetherhal Reg.; in Strickland.[10]

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[1] 1st mem. is, perhaps, from a M.E. form **ōr* < O.W.Scand. *aurr* 'gravel, mud'; cf. Orgrave above, p. 150. — Or is it from O.W.Scand. *ór* = *órir* 'an alder'?

[2] From M.E. *Osgot,* a partly anglicized form of the O.W.Scand. man's name *Ásgautr,* &c. for which see p. 138.

[3] From a M.E. gen. plur. *oxne* (< O.E. *oxna*) of M.E. *oxe* (O.E. *oxa*) 'an ox'.

[4] On the common M.E. pers. name *Philip* see BARDSLEY.

[5] From M.E. *pyg, pigge* 'pig', here perhaps used as a surname, in which function it is quoted by BARDSLEY from Norf. in the 13th century. Cf. above *Grisetoft.*

[6] From M.E. *rauen* (O.E. *hræfn*), or the equivalent O.W.Scand. *hrafn,* O.Dan. *rafn* 'a raven'. Here perhaps pers. name (cf. p. 119 n. 3), as in the O.W.Scand. place-name *at Rafntoftum, Hrafnstoptum* La.

[7] O.W.Scand. *sandr,* O.Swed. *sander,* Dan. *sand,* or O.E., M.E. *sand* 'sand'.

[8] From M.E. *Siberht* < O.E. *Sigebeorht,* pers. name.

[9] As for 1st mem. compare *Scrapthuait,* above p. 122.

[10] From O.W.Scand. *sker* 'a cliff, rock', on land or in the sea (O.Swed. *skär,* Dan. *skiær* 'a skerry, rock in the sea'). Hence M.E. *sker[re], skar[re]* 'a projecting rock', and N.E. dial. *skerry* (Scotl.), and *scar* (in several dial., also Wm.) 'a precipice, cliff', etc. See E.D.D.

Smythetoft Li. 1316 Ch. R.; in Swineshead.[1]

Stowelangetot, *Langetot* Suff. e. 13. cent. Br.Mus.; *Stowe Langetot* 1265 f. Suff. fines, 1346 F.A.; *Stowelangetot* 1342 Cl. R.; *Stouwelangetot* 1368, *Stowelangetoft* 1369 f. Br.Mus.; *Stowelangtot* c. 1410-11 ib., 1381 Suff. Poll-tax; *Stowe Langetoft* 1430-54 Br.Mus.; *Stowelangtofte* 1453 Suff. Tax. R.; for additional instances see Br.Mus.; now Stowlangtoft.[2]

Suthtoft Li. 13. cent. Selby Ch.; in Stallingborough.[3]

Tipetoft Yo. c. 1271 C. Inq.; *Tibbetoft* 1334 Rot. Orig., *[Johannes] Tiptoft* 1341 ib.; now lost?[4]

Tirnetofte, *-toste* Yo. DoB.; *Thirnetoft* Kirkby, 1317 Cl. R., &c.; *Thorntoft* 1304 Ch. R.; *Thyrnetofte* 1301 Yo. Subs.; *Thirntoft* No. vill., 1439 f. Cal. Inq.; *Thirnetofte* 1336 f. Cal. Inq.; now Thirntoft, in Ainderby Steeple.[5]

Udorstoft Norf. see Rye's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[6]

Ulvestoft Norf. see Rye's list of M.E. field-names in his Introd. to Ped. fin. Norf.[7]

Waretoft Le. 1343 Pat. R.; now Wartoft or Wartop (Lodge), in Castle Donington.[8]

[1] From O.W.Scand. *smiðja,* O.Swed. *smiþia,* e. Dan. *smidie* 'smithy, forge', or the equivalent O.E., M.E. *smiðde.* Or perhaps from O.W.Scand. *smiðr* &c. 'a smith', = O.E., M.E. *smið.*

[2] 1st component is the place-name M.E. *Stowe,* of native origin (O.E. *stōw* 'a place'); cf. above, under Langtoft.

[3] 1st mem. as in *Suthdayle,* p. 34.

[4] The place is near the present Tibthorpe (in Kirkburn), which name is spelt *Tibetorp, Tipetorp* DoB., *Tibethorp* c. 1271 C. Inq., *Tibthorp* Kirkby, *Tybbethorp* No. vill., *Tipthorp* 1349 Rot. Orig., and apparently contains the same word as 1st member. This must be a M.E. pers. name **Tibe* (cf. *Edmund Tibi* 1314 C. Inq.), *Tibbe* < O.E. *Tiba, Tibba,* as it seems short forms of O.E. *Tidbeald, Tidbeorht,* or, according to K. Sundén (Suffix *-y,* p. 146, cf. p. 148), of O.E. *Tilbaeth, Tilbeorht,* &c. The late O.Swed. man's name *Tibe* need not be taken into account.

[5] From O.W.Scand. *þyrnir* m. or a synonymous M.E. **þirne* (not in Stratmann-Bradley) < O.E. *þyrne* 'a thorn-bush', this latter being a weak *-jōn*-derivative from the same base as *þorn* 'a thorn, thorn-bush'. *Þyrne* is of frequent occurrence in O.E. local names.

[6] From the rare O.E. pers. name *Udardus* (Searle)? Perhaps only an inverted spelling of the more common *Odard* (DoB.).

[7] 1st mem. is gen. of the M.E. man's name *Ulf* < O.W.Scand. *Ulfr,* for which compare p. 126 n. 3.

[8] Probably from O.W.Scand. *vǫr* (gen. *varar*) 'a fenced-in landing-place'; cf. the allied O.E. *wer* 'a weir, dam'. The place is situated on

Wibbetoft Warw. 1002 THORPE, Dipl.; *Wibetot* DoB.; *Wibtoft* 1270 C. Inq.; *Wibytoft* 1298, *Wibertofte* 1369 Cal. Inq.; *Wybetoft* 1318 Pat. R.; *Wibetofte* 1340 Cal. Inq.; *Wybbetoft* 1401 Pat. R.; now Wibtoft, in Claybrooke par.[1]

Wiketoft Li. 1163-81 (Inspex. 1316) Ch. R.; *Wyketoft, -tot* Rot. H.; *Wiketoft* 1240 Li. rec., 1316 F.A., Rot. H., 1316 Ch. R., 1335 f. Pat. R.; *Wyke-, Wygetoft* 1307 Pat. R.; *Wygetoft* 1327 f. C. Inq., 1346 F.A., 1349 Br.Mus.; *Wyke-, Wiggetoft* 1353 Pat. R.; *Wygtoft* 1408, *Wyktoft* 1410 Pat. R.; now Wigtoft.[2]

Wilegtoft Li. 1314 Ch. R.; in Thurlby in Bilsby.[3]

Wilgetot Yo. DoB.; *Wiluetoft* 1230 Gray's Reg.; *Willegetoft* 14. cent. Selby Ch.; *Wylghtoft* 1302 Feod. mil. Eb.; *Wilghetoft* 1304 Yo. inq., No. vill.; *Wyllytoft* 1332 C. Inq.; *Wilughtofte* 1409 Pat. R.; now Willitoft, in Bubwith.[3]

Werkhustoft Li. c. 1263 Selby Ch.; in Eastoft.[4]

2) **Hobi** Yo. DoB., 1166-67 f. Pipe R., 1201 Rot. Canc.; *Hoby* 1230 f. Ch. R., 1250, 1399, 1433 Pat. R., No. vill.; *Hoby, Haby* Rot. H.; *Huby* 1398 Pat. R.; now Huby.

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a stream. There seems to have been in O.Norw. a river-name **Vǫr*, **Vara* (see RYGH, N.G. V), which might possibly also be taken into consideration here. Cf. moreover, the comments on the O.Norw. place-name *Vaar* in N.G. XI, p. 330.

[1] 1st mem. might possibly be from an O.Scand. man's name which has been preserved only in the late O.Swed. *Vibbe* (see LUNDGREN; presumably a hypocoristic form of the same name as O.W.Scand. *Vigbiǫrn*, which is given by LIND). But it is far more likely that we have here an O.E. man's name **Wibba*, like the above-mentioned *Wippa* (see p. 216 n. 2) a short form of O.E. *Wigbeald, Wigbeorht*. Cf. O.Dan. *Wipi, Wippi* (NIELSEN), OHG. *Wibbo, Wippo* (FÖRSTEMANN, Personennamen; STARK, Kosenamen &c. p. 118). Of O.E. **Wibba* I have found no perfectly indubitable instance recorded, but some evidence of its existence is offered by its M.E. continuation: *Wibbe* 1231, *Adam Wybbe* 1279 Pat. R., *Henry Wybbe* 1399, 1466 Cat. A.D., &c. Perhaps it enters into the place-name *Wibbenbury* 1258 Pat. R., now Wybunbury, Chs. — The above spelling *Wibertofte*, if not a casual misspelling, is due to confusion with the M.E. descendant of *Wigbeorht*, the common *Wibert*, on which, in many cases, the M.E. *Wibbe* may have been directly formed.

[2] From O.W.Scand. *vík* (O.Swed. *vik*, Dan. *vig*) 'a creek, inlet, bay'. W. is situated in the Fen country of Lincolnshire. Cf. p. 145 n. 1.

[3] From M.E. *wilghe, wilwe, wilowe* (O.E. *wiliʒ, weliʒ*) 'willow' (Salix).

[4] M.E. *werk-hous* < O.E. *weorchūs* 'workshop' = O.W.Scand. **verkhús* (see VIGF.), and O.Dan. *verkhus* in the law of Skåne.

1st mem. is from O.W.Scand. *hór* 'high' < **houhR* < **hauhaz*, Goth. *hauhs*, O.E. *hēah*.[1] The long *ō*-vowel arose at a very early period from the O.Scand. diphthong *ou* (< Teutonic *au*) before a subsequently dropped *h;* see on this Noreen, Altisl. Gram. § 94, 2. If the original *au* came to stand in an antevocalic position, it turned into *aw (af),* as e. g. in the oblique cases of the weak declension, masc. and neuter **hawa;* after the analogy of such forms there developed another nominative type *hár* (O.Swed. *ha-* in place-names; compare o. c. § 55) with oblique cases in accord. It is possible that a form of the latter kind enters into the above spelling *Haby* in the Hundred Rolls; cf. also *Hagayl*, p. 56, *Hathwait*, p. 111, *Haburne* &c. p. 180-81, and *Hawic*, p. 182. — The same adjective is recorded in

Hobie Le. DoB.; *Houbia* 1124 Le. Survey; *Huteby* 1284 F.A.; *Houeby* 1326 Cl. R.; *Houby* 1327 Le. Subs. R., 1349 Cl. R., 1407 Pat. R.; *Holkeby, Howby* 1428 F.A.; *Hobe* 1436 Pat. R.; now Hoby.

The spelling *Ho-* is to be judged as in the preceding name; *Houe-* and *Hou-* seem to go back to the secondary form *háwa: hár* (or *hówa*, coined on the nominative *hór*).[1] A similar interchange of these phonetic variants in the spellings of one and the same name is also noticeable in O.Norw. place-names: *Hofors* D.N. 11 (1422) but *Hauæfossæ* ib. 14 (1312), *Hauabrekka* ib. 12 (1306) but *Habrekko* 8 (1394), *j Hauarudi* D.N. 2 (1316), *Habølæ* and *Hobølæ* E.J. etc. Cf. further

Houscales Cumb. see p. 193.

Hothuait Lanc. and elsewhere, see above p. 111.

Hotoft Li. see above in this chapter.

That the names now dealt with are to be explained from O.W.Scand. *hór,* &c. seems beyond all question, considering the orthography of the spellings on record and the unmistakeably Scand. origin of their last members. But we are on less sure ground in the case of the places called *Hotun* in M.E., of which a considerable number are to be found in, and out of, the Scandinavian counties. The forms of these names do not permit us to derive them unreservedly from the Scand. *hór*, since they may just as well contain O.E. *hō (hōh)* 'heel, a projecting ridge of land'; cf. on this word in Ch. 4, p. 137. It is presumable that some of them, at any rate, are of Scand. descent, as e. g. *Hoton*

[1] 2nd mem. as in Aismunderby, p. 3.

Colswayn (see p. 68). Still the bulk of these names in general are most ambiguous.[1] To give an exhaustive survey of them here would certainly not repay the trouble and, besides, could lead to no positive result. The reader who desires to enquire into these names will find not a few instances in Skaife's Index to his edition of Kirkby's Inquest for Yo., and in F.A. and Ch. R.

Appendix A.

A fairly large number, comparatively speaking, of Scandinavian place-names in England are to be found in the following charters in Kemble's C.D. which pretend to date from the O.E. period, viz. C.D. 233 (A.D. 833), 265 (851), 297 (868), 420 (948), and 520 (966).[2] These charters are all inserted in the remarkable M.E. chronicle called Historia Croylandensis, or Descriptio compilata per Dominum Ingulphum (Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, + 1109). Several MSS. of it are known to have existed and have been reproduced, more or less completely, in some printed editions, the latest by Gray Birch, The chronicle of Croyland abbey, Wisbech 1883. Birch based his text on a MS. which he believed to be unique, namely the MS. Arundel 178 (in the British Museum), a transcript written in a 16th century hand. The genuineness of the work has long been questioned, but only the investigations carried out with admirable skill by F. Liebermann (Ueber ostenglische Geschichtsquellen des 12., 13., 14. Jahrhunderts, &c., Gesellsch. für ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde, Neues Archiv 18) have proved conclusively that it is a forgery. As to the age of the original MS. Birch thinks it must have dated from the 12th cent. or thereabout. Liebermann, who enters fully into what may be learnt from internal diplomatic and historical evidence, assumes the middle of the 14th cent. as terminus ad quem for the compilation of the chronicle. Now Birch founds his opinion exclusively on the 16th cent. scribe's transcription of the names of persons and places. With regard to the place-

[1] This holds good also of the M.E. name *Holand* which belongs to some places in Yorkshire (e. g. Hoyland Swaine, p. 64), and of *Howald* Yo. 1189 (Inspex. 1308) Ch. R., now Hawold in North Dalton.

[2] Also printed by Gray Birch in C.S., nos. 409, 461, 521, 872, 1178.

names, with which we are chiefly concerned here, it is most doubtful if their forms are of the age assigned to them by Birch; as far as can be judged from a comparison with other M.E. place-names, they would seem to be much later, and rather agree with the nomenclature of the 14th century.

The bulk of the places referred to are situated in the southern parts of Lincolnshire, in the ancient Fen district, as, e. g. Holbeach, Spalding, Deeping, Pinchbeck, &c. The mysterious place-designation *in Algare* C.S. 872 (948),1178 (966) cannot be identical with the present Algarkirk (cf. p. 20 f.), but seems to relate to the lands otherwise defined as '*donum Algari comitis in Holbeche et in Cappelade*', ib. 409 (833), now Holbeach and Whaplode. — We also find here a few place-names belonging to Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and some adjoining counties.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the alleged O.E. charters in the chronicle are preserved not only in the Arundel MS., but also in the MS. Otho. B. XIII, of whose existence Birch does not seem to have been aware. This is unfortunately much injured by fire (the Cottonian fire of 1731?), and in places practically illegible. The date of the hand-writing is somewhat difficult to fix, but it appears from certain characteristics to be from the end of the 14th, or the beginning of the 15th century. The MS. contains at least a considerable portion of Ingulf's chronicle, and is worthy of a detailed inquiry; I hope to return to it and give full particulars elsewhere in the immediate future.

Addenda & Corrigenda.

Page 2, l. 9 from foot, read: *akr* 'a piece of tilled or arable land'.
» 3. Between *Acrer* and *Asmundrebi* references should have been given to *Alnerdall*, p. XLIX n., and *Arusum*, p. 169.
» 11. *Chirchedele.* — The late spelling *Kyrkodale* in Cal. Plead. must be either a scribal error or a misreading for *Kyrkedale.*
» 11. Between *Hildertona* and *Chirchedele* a reference should have been given to *Catrehala*, p. 186 n.
» 15, l. 7 from top, read: *rugar*, gen. of O.W.Scand. *rugr.*
» 15. Between *Rugartorp* and *Scogerbud* a reference should have been given to *Rounthwayt*, p. 120.
» 43. Between *Ayntre* and *Foitesbi* a reference should have been given to *Eyrichtoftis*, p. 214.
» 46, foot-note 2, l. 2, read: O.E. *græf.*
» 58, l. 9 from top, add: Possibly identical with the present Elloughton, which is written *Elgendon* DoB., *Elgeton* Kirkby, *Helgheton* No. vill.
» 64, l. 4 from foot, read: native or Scand. (cf. p. 225 n. 1) formation.
» 79, l. 13 from top, read: *Slaipwath, Slaypewath.* — Add, next line: This must be the place marked on the Ordnance Map as Slape Wath, on Spa Gill, about two miles E. of Guisbrough.
» 94, l. 12 from foot, read: *Ðurgartun* Norf. C.D. 785.
» 101, l. 12 from foot, read: *Ðweyt* Norf. C.D. 785.
» 102, foot-note 7, l. 2, read: O.E. *āst* 'a kiln'.
» 104, foot-note 1, l. 2, read: M.E. *blabery.*
» 110, foot-note 4, read: M.E. *hei* 'hay'.
» 112, foot-note 6, l. 2, read: 'jackdaw'.
» 119, foot-note 4, l. 2, delete full stop after 'from'.
» 127, l. 6 from top, add: *Weyburthweyt* 1295 Cl. R.
» 127, foot-note 3, l. 4, read: documentary.
» 127, foot-note 3, l. 8, read: 'venatio, piscatio'.
» 130. At the end of Ch. 2 a reference should have been given to *Wreineshals*, p. 197 n.
» 131, l. 2 from top, read: see p. 151 n. 3.
» 139. Between *Osgodtorp* and *Osgotcros* a reference should have been given to *Osgottoftes*, p. 221.
» 158, foot-note 1, l. 7, read: (see p. 174).